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CHAPTERS

IN THE

HISTORY OF JOURNALISM

VOL. II.

PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON

ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

Chapters
IN
The History of Journalism

97249

BY

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ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

CHAPTER XIV.

UNDER GEORGE IV.

1820—1830.

As George IV. was virtually king during the nine years of his regency, his assumption of the title brought with it less apparent alteration in the state of public affairs than had been incident to any previous shifting of sovereigns. The actual change, however, was great. Fifty months before, the peace of Paris had formally concluded the long period of warfare which, confusing and desolating all Europe, had brought grievous trouble upon England, and, though those fifty months were not sufficient for even a pretence of restoring order and repairing the evils that had been brought on the nation, something had been done in them to tighten the bonds of tyranny which the nation was not yet able to burst. George IV., who had played upon the Whigs, or allowed them to play with him before he was regent, had come before he was king to be in close alliance with the Tories, or at any rate with the most genuine and thoroughgoing among them. Matters seemed ripe, when his father died, for a Tory supremacy in some respects more complete than

had hitherto been known, and only the more galling because it was resisted with a growing force which, as it happened, was in little more than a decade to be strong enough to overturn it. There was a constant struggle going on throughout the ten and a half years of this reign, in each stage of which newspapers performed important, if inharmonious, functions, and it ended in a crisis to which newspapers largely contributed.

Lord Liverpool, being in office nearly eight years before the new reign began, had made full use of his opportunities for the repression of public opinion in all ways, and notably in crippling and harassing such liberties as the press had already in theory acquired. New laws had been sanctioned by a too compliant parliament, and old laws had been perverted by a servile judiciary. New methods of corruption and intimidation had been adopted when the old methods were obsolete or ineffective, and if King George III. and his ministers could have had their way they would have had no journals printed which were not abject supporters of their policy, propounding lies instead of facts, quibbles instead of arguments, and fulsome adulation of the court and government, and gross abuse of all who opposed them, instead of criticism. Continuance of the same policy was aimed at by the king and his ministers, and it answered in some respects for a while, but in the main it utterly broke down before the decade was over.

Striking evidence both of the strength and of the weakness of journalism at this time, and of the incapacity of court and courtiers, with all their terrorism and all their wiles, to make the newspapers subservient, or, when they were subservient, in any way useful to them, arose out of the question which through more than the first year of George IV.'s reign was of absorbing interest to the public. Business of vastly

greater moment and evils with much more poison in them were forgotten or ignored by most people in their angry partisanship over the long-standing quarrel between the king and his wife, which broke out with fresh violence in consequence of Queen Caroline's returning to England after six years' absence to claim her rank as royal consort, or, if that was refused, to meet the charges brought against her. Her past as well as her present troubles were partly due to her own very unwise action; but she was at any rate the lesser offender and the greater sufferer of the two, and when she set up the rival court at Brandenburgh House, which was an object of ridicule and abuse to all the king's supporters, and a centre of agitation for all who sided with her, these latter included a great many more than the Radicals, who were most outspoken in their sympathy. The official Tories, with the exception of Canning, took the king's part, but grudgingly, and with full knowledge that his reckless injustice could only bring further discredit upon him. Canning's picture of 'a government brought into contempt and detestation, a kingdom thrown into such ferment and convulsion as no other kingdom or government ever recovered from without a revolution,'[1] was only exaggeration of the truth. 'I think no administration with any regard for him,' even Lord Eldon wrote concerning the king in June 1820, 'will go the length he wishes, as an administration, and if they will, they cannot take parliament along with them; that body is afraid of disclosures, not on one side only, which may affect the monarchy itself.'[2] But Eldon's warning was not heeded. Lord Liverpool brought in his Bill of Pains and Penalties in July, with a view of obtaining a

[1] Stapleton, *Life of Canning*, p. 299.

[2] Twiss, *Life of Lord Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 372.

divorce for the king, and depriving the queen of her rights and privileges; but Caroline was so ably defended by Brougham and Denman that, though the bill obtained a third reading by a majority of nine in the House of Peers, the government did not venture upon proposing it to the Commons, and the measure was abandoned in November; to be followed, however, by further insults and outrages, until the luckless and not too deserving lady died of chagrin and despair in August 1821. In October 1820 fashionable people, like the Dowager Lady Vernon, had hoped that 'the delightful queen' would be 'disgusted sufficiently' by the outrages and insults already offered to her, and would soon leave England. 'But,' added this polite lady, 'the Radical party will not suffer her to depart till a little more mischief is completed. This will be cooked up before the parliament meet for business, and I have no doubt is now cooking. "The Times" are giving a strong helping hand, no doubt.' [1]

'The Times,' though for the most part a ministerial organ, and prompted perhaps rather by a business-like desire to move with the current of public opinion, for which it was already conspicuous, than by any worthier motive, was vigorous and persistent in its opposition to the king and the government all through their proceedings against Queen Caroline; and, strange as it may seem, 'The Morning Chronicle' was almost the only respectable and responsible newspaper that did not take the same line. 'The Chronicle' was now edited by John Black, who, as we shall presently see, was too much of a philosopher and too anxious to distribute even-handed justice to be diverted by popular clamour or fickle sentiment from that pursuit of serious reforms and that exposure of vital abuses to which he had

[1] *The Journal of Mary Frampton*, p. 318.

pledged himself and his journal. But such slighting of Queen Caroline's woes as 'The Chronicle' seemed to be guilty of, while it offended the public, yielded no satisfaction to King George and his courtiers, and it was to counteract the tide of newspaper sympathy with the royal victim that 'John Bull' was started.

The story of this newspaper's origin and early progress is as curious and instructive as it is ugly and amusing. Theodore Hook had lately returned in disgrace from Mauritius, and was looking out for some way in which he could make use of his venomous and witty pen, when the Queen Caroline agitation began, and when the king's partisans were impressed with the necessity of doing something to oppose it. It was by Sir Walter Scott, one of the most ardent of these partisans, that Hook was selected, we are told, 'as a fit and proper person to make the thunder and direct the storm that were to blast the budding hopes of Radicalism.' Hook and some others, accordingly, took counsel with the courtiers, and arrangements were made to establish a paper 'in which a thorough sifting of, and investigation into, the life and position of every individual who appeared in the queen's society should be published, and every flaw in the reputation, every weak point in the family history of her adherents, duly brought to light.[1] A nominal editor was appointed, at a salary of three guineas a week, to correct the proofs and act as 'legal lightning conductor to the concern,' and a man, named Shackell, was induced to run the risk of issuing the offensive sheet, on condition of his sharing the profits with Hook. Both risk and profits were considerable.

The first number of 'John Bull' appeared on December 17, 1820. Only 750 copies were at first issued,

[1] Barham, *Life of Theodore Hook* (1853 edition), pp. 140, 142.

as no more than that quantity of stamped paper had been procured; but a second edition was speedily called for, and the type was kept standing to meet the great demand. In the sixth week the circulation amounted to 10,000. The new paper took the fancy of scandal-loving people with money to spare; and Theodore Hook is entitled to all the credit attaching to the projector and continuator of such an obnoxious undertaking. As his biographer and panegyrist says, with some effrontery, 'any man reckless of legal consequences or beyond their reach, familiar with the current scandal of the day, and having so powerful an engine as a public paper at his disposal, may inflict a vast amount of injury upon his adversaries; but to these conditions, in the present case may be added powers, if not of the very highest order, doubtless the best adapted to the purpose, sources of information peculiar and inexplicable, a singleness of purpose and firm conviction of its justice, that combined to render "Bull" the most formidable antagonist that had as yet entered the lists against the queen.'[1] King George IV. told John Wilson Croker in January 1822, that 'neither he nor his ministers, nor his parliament, nor his courts of justice, all together, had done so much good as "John Bull."'[2]

Parliament and the courts of justice, servile as they then were, fell foul of 'John Bull.' In May 1821, Henry Gray Bennett complained in the House of Commons of a breach of privilege it had committed in printing disparaging remarks about him, and the printer and nominal editor were committed to Newgate, where they were detained for two months.[3] In the following November, the two publishers were fined 500*l.* a piece in the King's Bench Court, for libelling Lady Caroline

[1] Barham, pp. 142-45. [2] *Croker Papers*, vol. i. p. 246.
[3] *Hansard's Debates*, 1821, cols. 549, 589, 633, 656.

Wrottesley; and during 1822 there were three other libel cases in the same court, each resulting in a heavy fine, and one in three months' imprisonment as well.[1]

These various punishments fell on his associates, not on Hook. His name was carefully kept out of the list of persons responsible for the paper, and, though his connection with it was well known, he arranged that it could not be proved. When one day Sir Walter Scott, who was sponsor to 'John Bull,' incautiously said that no one but Theodore Hook could turn out such clever articles as appeared in it, Hook wrote in assumed indignation to contradict the insinuation, and added to his signed letter this unsigned paragraph: 'The conceit of some people is amusing, and it has not been unfrequently remarked that conceit is in abundance where talent is most scarce. Our readers will see that we have received a letter from Mr. Hook disowning and disavowing all connection with this paper. Partly out of good nature, and partly from an anxiety to show the gentleman how little desirous we are to be associated with him, we have made a declaration which will doubtless be quite satisfactory to his morbid sensibility and affected squeamishness. We are free to confess that two things surprise us in this business; the first, that anything we have thought worthy of giving to the public should have been mistaken for Mr. Hook's; and, secondly, that such a person as Mr. Hook should think himself disgraced by a connection with "John Bull."' The mystification was carried on next week. 'We have received Mr. Hook's second letter,' it was then said. 'We are ready to confess that we may have appeared to treat him too unceremoniously; but we will put it to his own feelings whether the terms of his denial were not in some degree calculated to produce a

[1] Andrews, *British Journalism*, vol. ii. pp. 108, 109.

little asperity on our part. We shall never be ashamed, however, to do justice, and we readily declare that we meant no kind of imputation on Mr. Hook's personal character.'[1]

That impudent dishonesty was in keeping with the whole character of 'John Bull.' It was clever in its way, full of scurrilous jokes, cruel slanders, and elaborate falsehoods and falsifications skilfully kept up; and it was none the less successful—its profits being estimated for some years at 4,000*l.* a year, after deducting the heavy fines and law expenses incurred—because many were of the same opinion as Sir Robert Ferguson, who in the House of Commons described it as 'a stain on the public press of the country, a most malicious, false, and rascally publication.' When the special business for which it was started, the vilification of Queen Caroline and her cause, was out of date, Hook found other game to hunt. For a long while Joseph Hume, who took the lead in calling for inquiry into Hook's Mauritius defalcations, was a special object of attack. Hook provided him with a motto, 'Graiis expers catenis,' which he translated, 'I have got rid of my Greek bonds,' and made numberless jokes upon his name and his characteristics as a financial and political reformer. The true rendering of Horace's 'Ne quis Hum-asse velit,' Hook said, was 'Let no man call Hume an ass,' and 'Humili modo loqui' was translated as 'To talk Scotch like Hume.' Hook provided his enemy with verses like these to sing:—

I hastened my genius to show
Though I dealt not in figures of speech;
But speaking of figures, we know,
Is ever in Maberly's reach.[2]

[1] Barham, p. 153.

[2] Maberly was a mild precursor of Joseph Hume as a financial reformer.

And 'tis O, what did become o' me?
O, what did I do?
I proved, with a great deal of mummery,
One and one to be equal to two,
Wo, wo, wo, &c.

I wish I had stuck to my text,
My fame had continued alive;
But alas! I grew bold and tried next
To prove two and two to make five.
And 'tis O, what did become 'o me?
O, what did *I do*?
I swore it, and Walter and Finnerty[1]
Promised to bluster it through,
Ough, ough, ough, &c.[2]

Hook appears to have done most of the original writing for 'John Bull' during the first year or two, and he wrote in it some things that are still readable, like 'The Ramsbottom Letters,' which were published at intervals between 1823 and 1828. He continued to write occasionally and to draw his half profits till his death in 1841, but more work was done by others after he had been sent to prison for his Mauritius frauds in 1823. At about this time Richard Harris Barham, best known as Thomas Ingoldsby, who did not think it out of keeping with his minor canonry of St. Paul's, began to write much for the paper. His chief assistant was Thomas Haynes Bayley, help coming now and then from James Smith, of the 'Rejected Addresses,' and other wits, and more sober articles being contributed by Hook's elder brother John, who, as Fitz-Harding, addressed a series of letters to contemporary statesmen, and perhaps by his younger brother Walter Farquhar, famous afterwards as a church historian. William Maginn, who was brought over from Dublin to edit, at a salary of 20*l.* a month, a Wednesday companion to

[1] Peter Finnerty was at this time chief reporter on the staff of *The Morning Chronicle*.

[2] Barham, pp. 165, 166.

'John Bull,' which Theodore Hook projected but did not produce, also wrote a little for the Sunday paper.[1]

While 'John Bull' was not allowed by juries and some of the persons it libelled to go scot-free, the anti-ministerial papers were far more severely and frequently punished for much milder offences, or for plain speech which was only offensive because it was honest and patriotic. It was John Hunt's condemnation and imprisonment for two years in May 1821, that caused a crisis in the affairs of 'The Examiner,' and led to its passing into the hands of the Reverend Dr. Fellowes—a wealthy, enthusiastic, and noble-hearted Radical, who had for some time been a sort of secretary to Queen Caroline[2]—and its temporary deterioration under the too youthful editorship of Henry Leigh Hunt.

The other Radical papers were assailed in every way, and, as though Lord Liverpool's government was not zealous enough in its persecutions, a society of extreme Tories, including forty peers and church dignitaries, and calling itself the Constitutional Association but known by others as the Bridge Street gang, was formed in March 1821 to secure enforcement of the law against all who ventured to question the wisdom of George IV. and his ministers. It was approved by the king, who had written in the previous January to Lord Eldon:—'As the courts of law will now be open within a few days, I am desirous to know the decision that has been taken by the attorney-general upon the mode in which all the vendors of treason and libellers are to be prosecuted. This is a measure so vitally indispensable to my feelings, as well as to the country, that I must insist that no further loss of time should be suffered to lapse before proceedings be insti-

[1] Barham, pp. 159-162.

[2] E. B. de Fonblanque, *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, p. 27.

tuted.'[1] The angry complaints of Whig politicians in and out of Parliament, however, and the evidence brought forward that its members, when not themselves jurymen, were tampering with juries and officials, soon broke up the Bridge Street gang. In July it was itself prosecuted for extortion and oppression, and, though there was no conviction in this case, it ceased to be mischievous as a body.[2] Quite enough mischief was done by its members as individuals, and by the duly constituted authorities, to satisfy even George IV.

The opponents of the government found some amusement in a small attack upon it with its own weapons in February 1821, when Sir John Newport called attention in the House of Commons to a breach of privilege committed by 'The London Gazette,' in stating that among the petitions presented to the king was one from a Dumfries presbytery complaining of the violent and unconstitutional speeches of the opposition in both houses of parliament, and the infamous scurrility and misrepresentations of a licentious press.' The plea that this was only a record of a petition made in the ordinary course was rebutted by showing that the particulars had been picked out for publication, while the details of other petitions were not given, and Lord Castlereagh had to apologise for the misconduct of the official newspaper. He retaliated in March by causing complaint to be made against 'The Morning Chronicle' for having printed the names of members who had supported a motion for the reception of a petition from a prisoner against the judge who tried him, with this heading :—'The list of the minority who voted against Lord Castlereagh's admonition to the people of England

[1] *Court and Cabinets of George IV.*, vol. i. p. 107.

[2] *Annual Register* (1821), p. 205; *Hansard*, 1821, cols. 891, 1046, 1087–91; Knight Hunt, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70.

not to trouble and take up the time of the House of Commons with their petitions.' Of this mild sarcasm Lord Castlereagh declared that 'certainly a more detestable and wicked libel had never been published,' but after a long debate the government had to submit to the insult it had brought on itself.[1]

The more powerful papers, like 'The Morning Chronicle,' only gained by the contemptible effort of the king and his ministers to interfere with them. They had much to contend against, however, and 'The Chronicle,' which was at this time the boldest and worthiest of them, suffered for its honesty. It has been edited since 1817 by John Black, who, however had only partial control over it until 1821, when, on James Perry's death, it was sold to William Clement who was already proprietor of 'The Observer,' 'The Englishman,' and 'Bell's Life,' and who, conducting those Sunday papers with independence, but rather as weekly detailers of news than as organs of opinion allowed Black to go considerably beyond the Whig traditions of the paper in his bold advocacy of reform and yet more in his bold denunciation of abuses.

Black was a clear-headed, far-seeing Scotchman, an ardent disciple of Jeremy Bentham, and an intimate friend of James Mill. 'He played a really important part in the progress of English opinion for a number of years, which is not properly recognised,' John Stuart Mill wrote in 1869; and he added, 'I have always considered him as the first journalist who carried criticism and the spirit of reform into the details of English institutions. Those who are not old enough to remember those times can hardly believe what the state of public discussion then was. People now and then attacked the constitution and the borough-mongers, but

[1] *Hansard*, 1821, cols. 288, &c.

one thought of censuring the law or the courts of justice, and to say a word against the unpaid magistrates was a sort of blasphemy. Black was the writer who carried the warfare into these subjects, and he broke the spell.'[1] 'Up to that time,' as Mill also said, 'it was the almost universal creed of Englishmen that the law of England, the judicature of England, the unpaid magistracy of England, were models of excellence. I do not go beyond the mark in saying that, after Bentham, who supplied the principal materials, the greatest share of the merit of breaking down this wretched superstition belongs to Black as editor of "The Morning Chronicle." He kept up an incessant fire against it, exposing the absurdities and vices of the law and the courts of justice until he forced some sense of them into people's minds. On many other questions he became the organ of opinions much in advance of any which had ever before found regular advocacy in the newspaper press. Black was a frequent visitor of my father, and Mr. Grote used to say he always knew by the Monday morning's article whether Black had been with my father on the Sunday.'[2]

Black's style was somewhat crabbed, and his judgment hard. If he instructed thoughtful readers, he frightened away those who wanted to be amused, and 'The Chronicle' lost as well as gained influence in his hands, by acquiring a reputation of being duller and more severe than it really was. Its philosophical consistency made it seem inconsistent, and was irritating to shallow and fickle people. They could not understand why Black poured out indignation against the authors of the Peterloo massacre, and yet wrote calmly

[1] Robert Harrison, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Leslie Stephen, vol. v. p. 108.

[2] *Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*, pp. 89, 90.

about Queen Caroline's grievances, and refused to admit that she was a saint as well as a martyr. He offended the Radicals by demolishing Cobbett's rhetoric and questioning his honesty, and he shocked the Whigs by recognising virtue in Canning and declaring that Wellington was sometimes in the right. He alienated many readers, moreover, by paying scant attention to theatrical and other concerns, in a paper in which William Woodfall had patronised the playwrights, and which had had Hazlitt for its dramatic critic. These and similar shortcomings were not atoned for by the slashing articles contributed by Brougham, or Moore's occasional squibs in verse. Black had an able contributor, however, between 1821 and 1824, in Albany Fonblanque, who was now making his mark in journalism;[1] and among other contributors were James Mill,[2] and his talented and precocious son, who began to write for 'The Chronicle' when he was only about seventeen. John Stuart Mill's first communications were five letters, signed Wickliffe, commenting on the harsh treatment to which the Carliles had been exposed. Three of these letters were published in 'The Chronicle' in January and February 1823. 'The other two,' he said, 'containing things too outspoken for that journal, never appeared at all'; but besides these he wrote much else, 'sometimes notices of books, but often letters, commenting on some nonsense talked in parliament, or some defect in the law, or misdoings of the magistracy or the courts of law.'[3] Another contributor, supplying dramatic and literary criticisms, as well as copious parliamentary reports and occasional leading articles, was John Payne Collier, who appears to have

[1] *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, pp. 14, 63.
[2] Bain, *James Mill: a Biography*, p. 212.
[3] *Autobiography*, pp. 88,89.

sferred his services from 'The Times' to 'The hronicle' after his difficulty with the House of Com-ons in 1819. It was not till after 1830 that Collier ave any sign of the craze for antiquarian forgery that arred his good work and wrecked his reputation as a ainstaking and intelligent man of letters.[1]

The sturdy worth and honesty of 'The Chronicle' aced it at a great disadvantage in its competition with The Times,' which, however, gave much offence in ose years to both Whigs and Radicals. 'It takes up falling cause,' it was said too harshly, but with much uth, about 'The Times' in 1823; 'fights no uphill ttle, advocates no great principle, holds out a help-g hand to no oppressed or obscure individual; it is ver strong upon the stronger side;" its style is gniloquent, its spirit is not magnanimous.' And the me severe critic added, 'It is elaborate, but heavy; ll, but not readable. Stuffed up with official docu-ents, with matter-of-fact details, it might be imagined be composed, as well as printed, with a steam-engine. is pompous, dogmatical, and full of pretensions, but ither light, variable, nor agreeable. It sells more, d contains more, than any other paper, and when you ve said this you have said all.'[2]

Much as it was disliked by some, however, 'The imes' made wonderful progress from year to year, nder the joint care of the second John Walter, whose terprise in business ways had no limits, and of homas Barnes, who was scarcely less enterprising as editor; and many of the Whigs and Radicals who ndemned the ministry in 'The Chronicle' wrote on ch subjects as their consciences allowed in the minis-rial 'Times.' Albany Fonblanque was an occasional

[1] G. F. Warner, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xi. p. 349.
[2] *Edinburgh Review*, May 1823, pp. 362, 364.

contributor,[1] and Brougham was throughout many y
one of its regular leader-writers, at a salary of 10
a month. In August 1822, when Brougham was
Barnes proposed to Moore that he should temporaril
fill the post at the same scale of payment.[2] Moore d
clined that offer; but he contributed plenty of vers
and other verse came from Thomas Babington Macaula
Barnes was indefatigable in seeking out clever write
and tempting them with better remuneration than t
other papers gave, and the same policy was pursu
as regards parliamentary and other reporters, Walt
refusing to be bound by a rule agreed upon by his riva
which fixed the reporter's wage at five guineas a wee
Among the leader-writers of 'The Times,' howev
Edward Sterling continued to be the chief 'thunderer'
at his comfortable salary of 2,000*l.* a year, and on h
probably devolved the main duty of vehemently su
porting the government of the day in all its tyrannic
and perilous policy. Now and then, as in the case
Queen Caroline, 'The Times' ventured to be indepen
ent, or to follow the tide of popular opinion; but as
rule it was violently ministerial under Liverpool a
Canning and Wellington alike. Its Whig critic's sco
was not unmerited, and all the reforms prepared for
George IV.'s reign, and worked out to some extent
William IV.'s, were achieved without its help, and
defiance of its instructions.

Its policy paid well, and it profited by all its bol
ness, which its timid contemporaries and rivals regard
as reckless extravagance. It startled the world
January 29, 1829, by appearing as a double she

[1] *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, p. 8.

[2] Russell, *Journal, Correspondence, and Memoirs of Thomas Moo*
vol. iii. p. 362.

[3] Knight Hunt, vol. ii. p. 196.

giving forty-eight columns in eight pages of the usual size, instead of twenty-four columns in four pages. That was in defiance of the Stamp Act; but it was winked at by the authorities, as no other and less loyal paper was likely to follow the costly example, which necessitated not only a double outlay in paper and print, but also a troublesome and expensive change of machinery; and the freak was rarely repeated till the following reign, when a double number of 'The Times' generally appeared once a week or oftener. The nearest anticipation of it had been on June 22, 1821, when 'The Observer,' giving an elaborate account of the coronation of George IV., appeared as a double paper, of which the hitherto unparalleled number of 61,500 copies were sold; but in that case each of the two sheets was stamped and charged for.

'The Morning Herald' was for a few years the most formidable rival of 'The Times,' not in the collection of foreign news or in the writing of vigorous leaders, but in an extension of journalism which took the public fancy. Until this time, though parliamentary proceedings were reported fully, cases in the law or police courts were seldom recorded, or only briefly hinted at, unless at the conclusion of a trial its details were considered interesting enough to be set forth at length and in complete form. Police cases decided in a few hours were frequently given, of course, if they were deemed amusing, and as part of the current scandal, in each morning's papers, but with no attempt at thoroughness till 'The Morning Chronicle' and 'The Morning Herald' set the fashion. But, whereas 'The Chronicle' reported serious cases in order to comment seriously on them and insist upon necessary reforms, 'The Herald,' with a keener eye to present profit and popularity, tried only or chiefly to be amusing or

sensational in its excursions in this new field of journalism. Thomas Wright, a reporter on the staff of the latter paper, has the credit of making the change, and government interference encouraged it. On October 14, 1823, 'The Herald' reported a Mansion House case in which the captain of a vessel trading to Honduras described the cruel treatment to which emigrants were then subjected, and the disease, starvation, and premature death that ensued among them. The lord mayor, who heard this statement, said it was one to which the newspapers should call attention, and 'The Herald' acted on his suggestion. Thwaites, the principal proprietor of the journal, was thereupon proceeded against for libel by one of the promoters of the emigration scheme whose honesty and humanity had been impugned, and who obtained damages on the ground that newspapers were not justified in repeating accusations made in a magistrate's court. This action was soon followed by another of a similar nature, brought by a solicitor named Duncan, in which 'The Herald' was again punished for its zealous reporting; and the issues were in accordance with a ruling of Lord Ellenborough's in 1811, where 'The Day' was concerned to the effect that 'it was libellous to publish the preliminary examination before a magistrate previous to committing a man for trial, the tendency of such publication being to prejudice the minds of jurymen against the accused, and to deprive him of a fair trial.'[1]

[1] Barnewall and Cresswell, *Reports of Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, vol. ii. pp. 24, 556; Campbell, *Nisi Prius Cases*, vol. ii. p. 50. In June 1820, Clement, of *The Observer*, was fined for entitling a report 'Shameful Conduct of an Attorney,' and in June 1821, Walter, of *The Times*, was condemned for summarising the evidence at a trial by saying 'The witness proved the allegations contained in the speech of the learned counsel.' 'The defendant,' said Chief Justice Abbott, 'ought to have detailed and transcribed in the publication the evidence of the witness. If he had done so his readers might then have judged for them

Thwaites defied the law, however, and his police reports—some of which were republished in 1824 by Wright in an amusing volume entitled 'Mornings at Bow Street'—became a great attraction. The circulation of 'The Morning Herald,' only about 1,500 in 1820, was increased five-fold in the course of the next eight years,[1] and Wright was rewarded with a share in the property he had done so much to improve. For the first time in its history 'The Herald' became an influential paper, and, being too Liberal in its politics to please the Tories, and ceasing to be an unscrupulous supporter of George IV., in whose interests, while he was Prince of Wales, it had been established by Bate Dudley, it was now much less disreputable than formerly.

The old functions of 'The Morning Herald,' as a mere dispenser of 'fashionable intelligence' and aristocratic tittle-tattle of all sorts, devolved on its Tory rival, 'The Morning Post,' which, with a small and still dwindling circulation, was only able to pay its way by reason of the extreme cheapness of the matter provided in it. But it was of slight importance as a ministerial organ; and in yet worse condition was the other and more pretentious Tory paper 'The New Times,' which Dr. Stoddart had started in 1817. Stoddart abandoned journalism in disgust, and went in 1826 to retrieve his fortunes as chief justice of Malta, a post for which he was better fitted than for that of special pleader for the Tories in the columns of a newspaper, and in which he was but scantily rewarded for his long services; and 'The New Times,'

es. If a party is to be allowed to publish what passes in a court of ice he must publish the whole case, and not merely state the conclu- which he himself draws from the evidence.'—Barnewall and Alderson, *orts*, vol. iii. p. 702; vol. iv. p. 605.

Westminster Review, January 1829, p. 221.

bankrupt in 1828, was resuscitated for three years as 'The Morning Journal.' Neither this paper, under either of its titles, nor 'The Post,' however, brought anything but discredit on the party in office; and, though the party was supported by 'The Herald,' with its circulation, in 1829, of something like 8,000, and by 'The Times,' of which more than 10,000 copies were sold each day, while 'The Chronicle' issued barely 4,000,[1] the government was at this time without a champion to its liking in the press.

There is grotesque evidence of this, and also of the way in which at an earlier period the party had managed to get served in the newspapers, in a letter written by John Wilson Croker, in August 1829, to a friend who consulted him about starting a new Tory journal under ministerial patronage. Croker, it will be remembered, was the Rigby of 'Coningsby,' whom Lord Hertford, called Lord Monmouth in Disraeli's novel had 'bought.' 'He bought him, with his clear head his indefatigable industry, his audacious tongue, and his ready and unscrupulous pen; with all his dates, all his lampoons, all his private memoirs, and all his political intrigues.'[2] Croker, now forty-eight, and soon to resign his twenty-two years' secretaryship of the Admiralty, had written for 'The Times' as far back as 1801, when he addressed to it a series of letters on the French Revolution,[3] and had kept up acquaintance with the Walters, father and son, ever since. It was evidently to 'The Times' especially that he alluded in the

[1] Gibbons Merle, in *The Westminster Review*, January 1829, pp. 2 217, who tells us that the entire circulation of the seventeen daily pa then published was about 40,000. The morning papers were, in t order of commercial value, *The Times*, *Morning Herald*, *Morning Ad tiser*, *Morning Journal*, *Morning Post*, and *Public Ledger*; and the ev ing papers, *The Globe*, *Courier*, *Sun*, *British Traveller*, *Standard*, and *St*

[2] *Coningsby*, chapter i. [3] *Croker Papers*, vol. i. p. 8.

curious letter. 'I have heretofore,' he said, 'conveyed to the public articles written by prime and cabinet ministers, and sometimes have composed such articles under their eye. They supplied the *fact* and I supplied the *tact*, and between us we used to produce a considerable effect.' He did not give his friend much encouragement or any promise of help in the proposed venture, but he added, with the authority of a veteran in this sort of work, 'If anything of the kind were practicable, it ought to be done in the most profound secrecy, and every possible precaution against even a suspicion should be taken; and the minister who should undertake it and you—his "conveyancer," as Junius calls it—should throw in here and there such a slight mixture of error or apparent ignorance as should obviate suspicion of its coming from so high a source. When I used to write, I lived altogether with my political friends, and knew what I was doing, and what ought to be said. The success of that period, of which I was a humble though an active agent, was so complete that it turned the press—I mean the preponderating part of the press—right round. The government had the voice of the journals, and the opposition (what had, I believe, never before happened in the history of English parties)—the opposition complained loudly of the licentiousness of the press; which only meant that they were no longer able to wield it to their own purposes.'[1]

The only sort of press licentiousness that ministerialists approved was now beyond their contrivance, the reason being that the Tory party itself was getting beyond the control of any minister. The king's personal views alienated from him many zealous supporters of the crown; such popularity as he had formerly

[1] *Croker Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23.

enjoyed was shattered for ever by the Queen Caroline scandals; and his stubbornness on the Catholic emancipation question, though shared by the majority of the Tories, was resented by the more enlightened and more prudent members of the party. So long as Lord Liverpool remained in office there was no open breach, but when he was struck down in 1827, the Duke of Wellington, Peel, and all the old-fashioned Tories held aloof while Canning formed the promising administration which his own death put an end to before it was four months old.

It was in anticipation of these troubles that two bold efforts were made—one successful, the other a notable failure—to start new Tory papers. In 1825 John Murray, the publisher, well pleased with the progress of 'The Quarterly Review' under William Gifford's editorship since its commencement in 1809, projected a daily paper through which Tories of Canning's school should instruct the world. 'The Representative,' pompously heralded and lavishly prepared for, made its appearance on January 25, 1826.[1] Dr. Maginn was sent to Paris as one of its foreign correspondents, and several other writers were engaged at high salaries; but neither the money nor the brains expended on it made it in any way acceptable to the public, and after some 15,000*l.*, it is said, had been thrown away, it was discontinued on July 29.[2]

[1] Another *Representative*, a Sunday paper, had been started in January 1822 by Murdo Young, sometime proprietor of *The Sun*, but it only lived throughout the year.

[2] An absurd statement has been repeatedly made, and was amplified in James Grant's *Newspaper Press*, that Benjamin Disraeli was editor of *The Representative*. The only plea for believing this rumour is that he never took the trouble to contradict it. Disraeli, not more than twenty-one or twenty-two, was at this time writing the first volume of *Vivian Grey*, and occupying his leisure by playing the dandy in such Whiggish

The other, a more prosperous journal, was 'The Standard,' an offshoot of 'The St. James's Chronicle,' which had existed ever since 1761, as a thrice-a-week evening paper, and of which Charles Baldwin had for some time been proprietor, with Stanley Lees Giffard as editor. At the instigation of the Duke of Wellington, Peel and others, who were not satisfied with 'The Courier,' and anxious to have a vigorous organ which, besides in other ways opposing the Canning section, should be particularly zealous in resisting the movement for Catholic emancipation, Baldwin started 'The Standard' on May 21, 1827. Ably edited by Giffard, who was helped first by Alaric Attila Watts and afterwards by Dr. Maginn, 'The Standard' soon became the chief Tory evening paper. It was too enterprising for its patrons, however. It was only seven months old when great commotion was caused by an injudicious article published a fortnight before the Duke of Wellington's supersession of Lord Goderich, who had ventured to take Canning's vacant place. Wellington, while out of office and not loth to embarrass those whom he regarded as traitors in the Tory camp, had felt himself free to express his genuine thoughts about Catholic emancipation and other questions, both in his own speech and by proxy; but on the eve of his premiership, and with the consciousness that the long-deferred concession to the Irish people could not be much further procrastinated, his attitude was different, and he was not pleased by the persistency or consistency of his nominees on 'The Standard.' The irrepressible Croker

and nondescript society as Lady Blessington brought together. Had he had anything to do with *The Representative* his friends or enemies would certainly have placed the fact beyond doubt; but it is easy to suppose that in later years his vanity was humoured by the ridiculous story. It is possible, but not likely, that his father had something to do with the paper.

saw Herries' on January 2, 1828. 'We talked about a paragraph of about ten days ago in "The Standard,"' he reported, 'which proclaimed that the Tories could not come in without stipulating for the dismissal of the lord steward (Conyngham). We agreed as to the mischievous effect of that paragraph, as it was known that the Duke of Wellington and Peel countenanced that paper, and he told me that a certain person took care that it should go down to Windsor the very night it was published.' 'The king is so displeased with Peel,' Croker wrote to his patron, Lord Hertford, 'and so indignant at that paragraph in "The Standard," that he is, they say, resolved to continue what he calls a mixed government, but from which all Tories will recede.' The Duke of Wellington lost his temper over this business. 'What can we do with these sort of fellows?' he exclaimed. 'We have no power over them, and for my part I will have no communication with any of them.'[1]

Wellington was appointed premier on January 8, however, notwithstanding the harm he thought 'The Standard' had done to him, and he had many communications afterwards both with it and with other papers; and 'The Standard' flourished, though some time passed before it could oust even 'The Courier' from its place as the evening spokesman for the crumbling Tory party. 'Saw Peel,' Croker wrote in his diary for February 9, 1829, 'who begged of me to insert in "The Courier," as from myself, his letter to the vice-chancellor of Oxford. I did so, and sent with it a few complimentary words, but in the character of the editor.'[2]

In 1814 and thereabouts Croker had joined with

[1] *Croker Papers*, vol. i. pp. 397, 399. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 9.

Peel and Palmerston, he tells us, in contributing 'political squibs and lyrics' to 'The Courier'; but even such help, and the more solid assistance it obtained from official sources, did not make it a successful or influential paper. Its fortunes were not improved by the energy of William Mudford, an old friend of John Black's, who edited it during several years before 1828, and who failed in his efforts to adapt its policy to the varying tactics of the Tories in office.

The career of Mudford's successor was a melancholy example of the misfortunes, by no means rare, of Tory journalists. Eugenius Roche had been for some time reporter and, during a year or two, editor of 'The Day' before 1810, when he was imprisoned for a year for libelling Sir Francis Burdett, this being one of the few instances of Tories sharing the punishments that were so frequently incurred by Radicals. In 1813 he was employed on 'The Morning Post,' of which he became editor in 1817, and he gave to it, as he said, 'every hour of his time and almost every thought of his mind' till 1827, when he unluckily accepted the editorship of 'The New Times,' lately vacated by Stoddart. It was a condition of his appointment that he should take shares in the concern, but he had scarcely entered on his duties before he found that he had thereby rendered himself responsible for old debts, which swallowed up all his scanty savings and left him penniless. When 'The New Times' was converted into 'The Morning Journal' in 1828, he went to edit 'The Courier,' which was partly owned by the same proprietors. That post, however, he only held for less than two years, and the salary of 1,000*l.* a year paid or promised to him was not sufficient for his needs. 'Trembling for the ruin which impended over his family,' we are told, 'and expecting each day to be

consigned to the grasp of the myrmidons of the law,' he died of what is called a broken heart when he was barely more than fifty.[1] Soon after his death in 183[illegible] and on the collapse of 'The Morning Journal' and th[illegible] ruin of its Tory proprietors, 'The Courier' was bough[illegible] by the Whigs, and began to be somewhat more pros[illegible] perous as an exponent of different politics.

Another, and sometime notorious, Tory evenin[illegible] paper, 'The Sun,' had already changed its politic[illegible] and entered on a fresh lease of life, its circulation bein[illegible] quadrupled between 1825 and 1829.[2] Its new pro[illegible] prietor was Murdo Young, a pioneer in one phas[illegible] of modern journalism. Until his time the evenin[illegible] papers, as they were called, generally published earl[illegible] in the afternoon, gave little more in the way of new[illegible] than selections or epitomes of matter contained in th[illegible] morning journals, with the addition of such origina[illegible] articles as could be procured at small price. 'Th[illegible] Courier' had set the fashion fifteen or twenty year[illegible] before, during the later stages of the Napoleonic wa[illegible] of issuing second, and sometimes even third, editions[illegible] when it had scraps of fresh intelligence to offer; bu[illegible] these supplementary editions were irregular, and ofte[illegible] were catchpenny productions. When Murdo Youn[illegible] altered the politics of 'The Sun,' he also altered it[illegible] business arrangements. He laid himself out for pub[illegible] lishing late news, keeping his men at work if necessar[illegible] till eleven o'clock at night, in order that he migh[illegible] publish on the same evening a report several column[illegible] long, it might be, of the day's proceedings in parlia[illegible] ment, or special communications from the province[illegible] or from the continent. The innovation was acceptabl[illegible]

[1] Roche, *London in a Thousand Years, and other Poems*; prefato[illegible] memoir (1830).

[2] *Westminster Review*, January 1829, p. 221.

to readers in London, and yet more in the country. Young established a system of expresses stretching ll round London, and even as far as Manchester and stol, and was thus able to anticipate the morning pers by at least twelve hours, both in the collection nd in the distribution of news. This was no slight feat perform in days when there were no telegraphs and t even any railways, and when the General Post ffice was a nest of jobbery, always dilatory and never be depended upon.[1] Now and then Young's zeal l him into error, as in 1828, when he obtained beforend from Richard Lalor Sheil the text of a speech Catholic emancipation which Sheil had prepared delivery in Surrey, and published it overnight, to rn next morning that the speech had never been oken.[2] But such accidents were rare, and when they ppened they only helped to advertise 'The Sun.'

The ablest and the most successful of the evening pers in George IV.'s time, however, was 'The Globe,' pecially as it profited by all the experience of 'The n,' and now improved on its example in the matter news, besides surpassing it as a guide and inructor of public opinion. Started in 1803, along ith 'The British Press,' and both journals being under e same editor, George Lane, 'The Globe' was during veral years a respectable but unimportant organ of e booksellers' trade, containing literary advertiseents and general news, and paying very little attenon to party politics. In this respect it was surpassed 'The Traveller,' which, commenced at about the me time, and skilfully edited by Edward Quin, soon came more than a trade journal issued in the interests commercial travellers. Colonel Robert Torrens, an

[1] *Westminster Review*, January 1829, pp. 230, 231.

[2] James Grant, *The Newspaper Press*, vol. i. p. 334.

officer of marines who distinguished himself during the long war with France and, unlike most military men, was taught Radicalism by experience of soldier-ship, became a principal proprietor of 'The Travell after his fighting work was over, and used it for e forcement of the opinions he had arrived at in politi and political economy. He found a congenial edit in Walter Coulson, who had formerly been amanuen to Jeremy Bentham, and was a zealous Benthami through life. It was in 'The Traveller' that Jo Stuart Mill, when he was scarcely more than sixte near the end of 1822, made his first appearance print. 'Colonel Torrens wrote much of the politi economy of his paper,' said Mill, 'and had at t time made an attack upon some opinion of Ricar and my father, to which, at my father's instigation, attempted an answer, and Coulson, out of considerati for my father and good will to me, inserted it.' Torre replied to this criticism, and a further rejoinder fr the young controversialist appeared in this libe journal.[1] On January 1, 1823, however, 'The Travell was absorbed in 'The Globe,' which, 'The British Pre having been dropped as an unprofitable speculatio had been bought by Torrens and his friends, and fr that day it appeared as 'The Globe and Travelle During the next five years Torrens bought up fi other papers, 'The Statesman' and 'The True Brito both of long standing but small circulation, 'T Nation,' and 'The Evening Chronicle' and 'The Argu both of which had lately been started by James S Buckingham,[2] an indefatigable newspaper project whose only successful venture—successful in oth hands—was 'The Athenæum,' dating from 1828.

[1] *Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*, pp. 87, 88.
[2] *Westminster Review*, January 1829, p. 221.

'The Globe,' in the editorship of which Gibbons Merle soon succeeded Coulson, acquired great importnce in Torrens's hands. Less enterprising as a color and prompt dispenser of news than 'The Sun,' became a vigorous exponent of Whig opinions, opinions too advanced for the majority of Whigs. e evening associate of 'The Morning Chronicle,' it oured as zealously for the overturning of the Tory e, and while that rule lasted, for the promotion of orms obnoxious to the Tories. Of the good work ne by both papers we shall see something presently.

Of the rapid collapse of Toryism during the second lf of George IV.'s reign, though not of its extinction, much weakening to the traditions and prejudices t were soon to appear in altered forms, clear evince was given in many ways, but there was no clearer dence than came from the scant supply and poor ality of Tory journalism at this time. While there s much that was faulty and offensive in the Whig d Radical newspapers, these were plentiful, and owed no lack of energy; but the Tory newspapers re few and feeble, as well as faulty and offensive. mong nearly three dozen weekly papers now published, any of them paltry and short-lived, there were veral that bravely and effectively opposed the Canng, Goderich, and Wellington administrations, all ree of which were included in a term of barely more an three years. The only ministerial supporters of y note, however, were 'John Bull' and its rival in arseness 'The Age,' which was started in 1825, and ese two were at feud with one another and with the ily papers of the same politics, among which also there s no cohesion or agreement. 'The Times' was by the most powerful of all the journals now published, d it generally used its power against the opponents

of the government, but it was in no sense at this time a government organ. The Duke of Wellington's worthiest champion was 'The Standard,' but it was still young and weak. 'The Standard,' it was said by a compet critic in 1829, 'probably owes its success to the fl tuating policy of "The Courier" at the period when seeming liberalism of the Government led to a s of coquetry with a better and higher policy. "T Standard" was set up by the old Tories when th had not a decided organ in the whole of the Lond press, with the exception, perhaps, of "The Morni Post," which has of late years been in the main a co sistent Church and State advocate of high ultra politi "The Courier," under the direction of another edit than the gentleman who now obeys the mandates of Treasury, had fluctuated between Canning and Eld Wellington and Huskisson, Tory principles and Libe principles, until its old staunch Tory subscribers beg to leave it in great numbers, whilst its liberality w thought of such young growth that it had no accessi in numbers from persons of the opposite party. In th state of things "The Standard" was set up; and althou for a time its success, notwithstanding the skill of th writers employed upon it, was doubtful, it may now considered to have succeeded.'[2]

'The Morning Journal' did more harm than 'T Standard' could do good to the Tory cause, howev and in kicking it out of his way, the Duke of Wellin ton stumbled considerably towards his own ruin. 'Th Morning Journal' was a persistent railer against We lington from the time when, not daring longer to resi the demand for Catholic emancipation, he introduced measure to that intent in the session of 1829. The

[1] William Mudford, who preceded Eugenius Roche.

[2] *Westminster Review*, January 1829, p. 229.

was passed in April, but not accepted as a favour by the Irish Catholics and English Whigs and Radicals who had so long been insisting on it. Those Tories who resented it found no excuse for the Premier in the exigencies to which he had yielded. Their bitterness had vent in 'The Morning Journal,' and one particularly angry article appeared in the number of May 14, which, however, referred particularly not to the Catholic Relief Act, but to Wellington's supposed influence over the king in other matters. 'George IV.,' it was said in this article, 'was till now a popular monarch. That he has been rendered otherwise is the act of his imperious minister.' 'There never was a more ambitious or a more dangerous minister in England than the Duke of Wellington,' it was further asserted. 'But if his ascendency over the monarch be such as it is, or rather such as it is represented to have been, then we are sure that national sympathy must spontaneously flow towards the king. The people must feel intensely the restraints put upon the sovereign, and regret that, overflowing with goodness as he is, kind to excess, fondly attached to his subjects, and paternally anxious to see them all prosperous and happy, he cannot mingle with their public entertainments or receive those congratulations which must be gratifying to his majesty in the course of existence. But his majesty may yet have strength and intrepidity to burst his fetters, dismiss from before his throne evil counsellors, and assume that station in public opinion which befits a popular monarch.'

For those spiteful sentences, containing more irony against King George IV. than the writer can have intended, the Duke of Wellington foolishly instituted proceedings against the printers of 'The Morning Journal,' and the case came on for trial, along with another against the same paper, upon which the verdict

was more disastrous to it, on December 23. After three hours' consideration the jury found that the king, but not his minister, had been libelled, and strongly recommended the prisoners to mercy on the ground that the conduct of the minister called for public reprehension.[1] This, as Charles Greville said, was 'tantamount to a defeat of the prosecution on this charge, and amply proves the folly of having instituted it at all.' 'The whole press have assisted upon this occasion,' Greville reported, 'and in some very powerful articles have spread to every corner of the country the strongest condemnation of the whole proceeding,' and he added that Wellington's unpopularity was certain to be increased by his inability to retaliate, 'not that he would be sorry to adopt any measure which should tend to fetter free discussion, and submit the press to future punishment; but this would be a fearful war to wage, and I do not think he is rash enough to undertake such a crusade.'[2]

Wellington's soldierly statesmanship was not equal to that enterprise; but he did other reckless things, and, scorned by his own party and its feeble representatives in the press, and openly jeered at by the newspapers that were not Tory, he hastened on the crisis to himself and the Toryism of that day which a more prudent politician could not have long deferred. It was his refusal to accede to the popular demand for reform of the civil list which immediately caused his overthrow after a new parliament had been elected as a consequence of William IV.'s accession. 'Hated, despised, derided, covered with every species of disgrace,' Albany Fonblanque then wrote in 'The Examiner,' 'the Wellington administration has fallen—an example and a warning to statesmen of the

[1] *Examiner*, December 27, 1829. [2] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 259.

controlling genius of the age and the power of opinion. Six years ago the declaration against reform which passed from Wellington's lips as his doom, marking him rash and dangerous—six years ago the same speech would have been received with cheers, re-echoed with praise by all the sycophants, parasites, dupes, and fools in the United Kingdoms. But a different understanding has begun to prevail. The eyes of men are opened, their wits sharpened against abuses, and the mere worldlings, even the time-servers and slaves of authority, saw that the minister was a discredited and lost man when he uttered the impudent outrage against truth and the common sense of the nation. He is now departed from the place of power, and with him are for ever gone the antiquated principles of misgovernment, whose sudden revival caused almost as instant destruction.'[1]

Fonblanque's blame was too sweeping, and his forecast too sanguine; but there was more truth in both than the Tories liked.

[1] Fonblanque, *England under Seven Administrations*, vol. ii. pp. 45, 46.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RADICAL REVOLT.

1826—1836.

THE year 1769 is often given as the date of 'the birth of English Radicalism, and the first serious attempt to reform and control parliament by a pressure from without, making its members habitually subservient to their constituents';[1] and just half a century later, in 1819, it is said, 'the reformers first assumed the name of Radicals.'[2] But the movement here referred to was not one to which either dates or names can be accurately assigned. There had been democratic dreams and bursts of action during the centuries before the Revolution of 1688; and these were only imitated, varied, or improved upon during the century and a half that followed. Wilkes was to some extent a Radical; and in Burke, a vastly superior man in every way, the spirit of Radicalism was purer and more lasting. If we accept Burke's remark in his 'Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontent'—'I see no other way for the preservation of a decent attention to public interests in the representatives but the interposition of the body of the people itself'—as the initial statement of the Radical creed, we can trace the thought that prompted it in the speech and in the conduct of men

[1] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 174.
[2] Martineau, *History of the Thirty Years' Peace*, vol. i. p. 226.

who lived long before him ; and not till long after his time, if at any time at all, was it expressed fully enough and with sufficient honesty and persistence in either the speech or the conduct of other men. It is convenient and not misleading, however, to attribute to the political disturbances incident to the early years of George III.'s reign the crude commencement of what is now known as the Radical party, and to the closing years of that reign its first assuming of something like its present shape.

Modern Radicalism began to assert itself in England in the schemes and protests of those students in the school of thought that produced the French Revolution who were denounced by their enemies as Jacobins, but among whom there were many and wide differences, both of motive and of method, and some of whom, at least, can hardly be credited either with motives or with methods that were either intelligible or consistent. In youthful disciples of Rousseau, like Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey, the Radicalism soon passed into various grades of Toryism ; and men like Shelley and Leigh Hunt, starting almost from the same point, but proceeding in a different direction, though they were Radicals to the end, were Radicals rather from sentiment than from reason. Quite another sort of Radicalism found noisy spokesmen in men like Cobbett, 'Orator' Hunt, and Sir Francis Burdett, and it was not all gain to the cause of progress that they were chiefly instrumental in stirring up so much angry feeling that the suicidal Tory government was inclined to meet it with attacks on the populace of which the Peterloo massacre was the most conspicuous, and with the despotic legislation that culminated in the Six Acts. A third sort of Radicalism, associated in some respects with both the others, but distinct from them, was the

Radicalism of which Jeremy Bentham was the pioneer, and which had for its first text-books his 'Fragment on Government,' published in 1776, and his 'Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation,' published in 1789.

Bentham's foremost disciple and apostle was James Mill, who, settling in London in 1800, when he was twenty-seven, had not found it inexpedient, as a Radical, to earn money by writing critical essays in and after 1802 for 'The Anti-Jacobin Review,' which was a monthly sequel to Canning's 'Anti-Jacobin,' and by editing in 1805 and the two or three following years 'The St. James's Chronicle,' the tri-weekly Tory paper, which was at that time owned by his friend and publisher, Charles Baldwin.[1] He soon, however, became the leader, under the now venerable Bentham, of the new London school of Radicalism, and, especially after he had obtained comfortable employment in the India Office in 1819, was the centre of a brilliant circle of deep thinkers and brave workers, among whom George Grote, his junior by twenty-one years, Albany Fonblanque, a year older than Grote, and his own son, John Stuart Mill, yet twelve years younger, were to be the most famous and serviceable. Other members of the group were John Black, the editor of 'The Morning Chronicle,' Walter Coulson, the editor of 'The Traveller,' John Bowring, the first editor of 'The Westminster Review,' which Bentham started in 1823, and William Molesworth, for whom the younger Mill edited the 'London Review' from 1834 till 1836, when it was amalgamated with 'The Westminster.' Both 'The Chronicle' and 'The Traveller' were Whig, or, as they preferred to call themselves,

[1] James Mill also projected in 1803, and edited till 1806, *The Literary Journal*, a precursor of *The Literary Gazette* and *The Athenæum*.—Bain, *James Mill; a Biography*, pp. 41, 46, 47.

Liberal, papers, in which Radical views could only be discreetly propounded; but Fonblanque wrote much and boldly in 'The Chronicle' until 'The Examiner' claimed all his attention, and these two, with 'The Traveller,' afterwards 'The Globe and Traveller,' were valuable instructors of public opinion during and after the reign of George IV.

'The Examiner' lost ground after Leigh Hunt was forced to resign the editorship in 1821; but he and Shelley sent contributions from Italy, and new life was put into it in 1826, when Albany Fonblanque became its chief political writer, so continuing till the whole management—leading in some way to sole ownership—was assigned to him in 1830 by Dr. Fellowes, its then proprietor. We have seen how John and Leigh Hunt commenced this excellent Sunday paper in 1808 as a heroic champion of the wisest and truest Radical thought that the public was at that time able to apprehend, and how they nobly carried on their work through more than a dozen years, suffering imprisonment and losing health and money in so doing. It was a welcome chance, or more than chance, that the same paper should now be the channel for the utterance of stronger, if not worthier, Radical teaching by a Radical of firmer if not loftier mind. Some years afterwards, Leigh Hunt said gracefully in his old age, 'I had an editorial successor, Mr. Fonblanque, who had all the wit for which I toiled, without making any pretensions to it. He was the genuine successor, not of me, but of the Swifts and Addisons themselves; profuse of wit even beyond them, and superior in political knowledge.'[1] Leigh Hunt and Fonblanque were equals, in different grooves, and if the younger man, with keener intellect and stabler judgment, was a better politician and not inferior in

[1] *Autobiography of Leigh Hunt*, p. 155.

literary skill, the elder is no less worthy of our reverence, and not alone because he was in many ways a martyr to the cause he served.

Fonblanque's connection with 'The Examiner' began opportunely. The parliament that was dissolved at the end of May 1826, the first in which Radicals showed themselves as a small party separate from the Whigs in opposition to the dominant Tories, had made feeble attempts at dealing with several of the questions now pressing for solution; among them, the widespread commercial depression and industrial distress, ruining great merchants and threatening the working classes with starvation, for which the only reasonable remedies proposed were reduction or abolition of the corn dues and reduction of public expenditure, and, as a help towards securing those remedies, parliamentary reform by extension of the franchise and rearrangement of seats. Lord John Russell's motion on April 27, 'that the present state of the representation of the people in parliament requires the serious consideration of this house,' had obtained as many as 123 votes to 247; but Joseph Hume, at this time looked upon as the leader of the Radicals, had only thirty-four votes in support of his motion on May 4, for an inquiry into the deplorable state of the nation, which he set forth under forty-five distinct counts. In the new House of Commons, which was elected in June, but did not meet till November, the Radical force was somewhat increased, but the Whigs were fewer, and the outlook was not encouraging. It was with reference to the elections that Fonblanque wrote one of the first, if not quite the first, of his articles in 'The Examiner.' 'A traveller,' he said, with the fondness for apt illustration or parable that was peculiar to him, 'observed a poor Englishman day after day incessantly patrolling the streets of Geneva in great

distress of mind. On asking him the cause of his trouble, he answered that he wanted to get home to England, but that he had not the means of paying for any conveyance. "My friend," replied the other, "if you had daily walked in the direct way towards the object of your wishes the distance you have daily walked in despair about the streets of Geneva, you would have been at your journey's end by this time." Let us be wiser than this poor man, and, instead of being filled with despair by the length of the distance between us and our object, let us endeavour steadily and perseveringly to gain the comparatively small space of ground immediately before us, neither discouraged by real difficulties nor resting our reliance on vain hopes, and trusting to nothing but our own energies and constancy, which will carry us, with small means, to the attainment of great objects.' [1]

In that spirit Fonblanque worked on 'The Examiner' through more than a quarter of a century. He was in some respects what would now be called an opportunist, but of the best sort. Till near the end—when he wavered somewhat, as is natural to old men, who, having seen the attainment of so many of the objects they aimed at, have found that they have not all been as beneficial as they expected—he was a thoroughgoing Radical of Bentham's school; seeing clearly what was wrong in social and political institutions, and zealous to reform them, but too clear-headed and honest to ally himself completely with any party or section, or even to surrender his independence of judgment by slavish following of Bentham's teaching in details; preferring to stand by principles, with such varying

[1] Fonblanque, *England under Seven Administrations*, vol. i. p. 7. These three volumes contain a reprint of articles contributed by Fonblanque to *The Examiner* between 1826 and 1836.

methods of obedience to them as each year's and each week's conditions and circumstances suggested. The motto that he found printed on the first page of 'The Examiner' when he began to write for it was 'Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few.' For it, when 'The Examiner' became his own property, he substituted these sentences of Defoe's : 'If I might give a short hint to an impartial writer, it would be to tell him his fate. If he resolves to venture upon the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truth, let him proclaim war with mankind—neither to give nor to take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men, they fall upon him with the iron hand of the law. If he tells them of virtues, when they have any, then the mob attacks him with slander. But if he regards truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides, and then he may go on fearless.'

Boldly and persistently discussing the various phases of the political problem from week to week, Fonblanque lost no opportunity of calling attention to social abuses, and to their causes both in remediable faults among the people themselves, and in the misgovernment by which those faults were aggravated. He zealously denounced the vices incident to maintenance of the House of Lords and the Established Church. He was yet more energetic in exposing the defects in the machinery for administering justice ; the blunders and shortcomings of the magistracy being with him a special object of attack, and a constant theme for his mockery and expostulation. To him, in no slight measure, were due the reform of the metropolitan police, and improved arrangements for the detection of crime and the treatment of criminals. These were some of his themes.

In his own trade of journalism, and the pernicious

policy adopted towards it by the crown and its advisers, he took, of course, particular interest. In an article on 'Liberty and Licentiousness of the Press,' prompted in 1827 by a renewal of severity in arbitrarily enforcing the law of libel, we have a good specimen of his satire. 'The licentiousness of the press,' he said, 'is a term of the very widest range, including as it does everything that is offensive to anybody. The liberty of the press, on the other hand, seems to come under the mathematical definition of a point; it has neither length, breadth, nor thickness.' 'There is one body only which the press is permitted to abuse with entire freedom, and which the more it abuses by falsehood the more highly its conduct will be extolled by the authorities. That body, we need hardly say, is the people. To misrepresent every circumstance of public affairs, to praise the incapable, call pillage necessary expenditure, and distress prosperity, are falsehoods tending to social injury which will never be numbered among the offences of the press. While, indeed, it deals only in these untruths, it is complimented on the quiet decorum of its conduct. In the invention of falsehoods for the damage of the people there is no offence; in the invention of falsehoods to the discredit of the government there is the greatest. The reason of the distinction is obvious; the hurtful delusion of the people is not a government concern.' [1]

When Canning succeeded Lord Liverpool as premier in April 1827, many of the Whigs welcomed the change, and expected speedy benefits from his rule. Fonblanque recognised the rising statesman's merits, and rejoiced in the separation from him of Wellington, Peel, and the other Tory malcontents; but he warned his readers that Canning was not to be trusted because he was a good man; and he uttered the same warnings about

[1] *England under Seven Administrations*, vol. i. pp. 92, 96.

Lord Goderich, who was in office from August 1827 till January 1828. '"Private vices," says Mandeville, "are frequently public virtues,"' Fonblanque wrote on the occasion of Goderich's retirement. 'We are almost tempted to maintain the converse, and to hold that private virtues are often public mischiefs. George III.'s constancy to his wife and his shoulder of mutton, his taste for regularity and simplicity, and the blameless tenor of his domestic life, enabled him to plunge us into wasting, unjust, and unnecessary wars. Had he kept various concubines, and dined off French dishes at nine o'clock, the people would have had a lively perception of the depravity of his politics and an intimate persuasion of their wrongs. As it was, he soared to heaven between the shoulders of mutton and the arms of his wife. Two o'clock dinners and conjugal fidelity procured the remission of his political sins and his canonisation as a royal saint. How dearly we have paid for his mutton and his marital virtue!' And that private virtue is no guarantee for public worth, and may easily be a pretext for grievous wrongdoing, is as true, said Fonblanque, of ministers as of kings, and was shown in the careers of Lord Londonderry, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Bathurst, Lord Eldon, and others.[1]

Towards the Duke of Wellington, whose administration lasted from January 1828 till November 1830, Fonblanque showed no mercy; and he found fault with Brougham, Cobbett, and the other shifty Whigs or Radicals who supported him. 'As premiers have become deities,' he scornfully remarked, 'politics have necessarily become a theology, and particular politicians are to be examined according to new rules and judged not as statesmen but as man-worshipping religionists. Creeds, not speeches, should be the fashion now in

[1] *England under Seven Administrations*, vol. i. pp. 127–30.

parliament, and an "I believe in Wellington" will most effectually obviate all inquiry or objection.'[1] Fonblanque missed no opportunity of denouncing Wellington, and when Wellington's master died in June 1830, the fulsome panegyrics published in other papers led him to use plain language in 'The Examiner.' 'In his youth he was libertine and profuse,' it was then said concerning George IV., 'and from his mature age he showed a preference for persons possessed of no qualities entitling them to consideration or respect. They have been distinguished by the king's favour, and nothing else—quacks, serviles, sycophants, and buffoons. The maxim "Noscitur a sociis" would be a severe test of the late king's character. When occasions for magnanimity have offered, George IV. has been found wanting. His persecution of his queen was at once mean and cruel; and his conduct towards Napoleon Bonaparte, however justifiable in policy, was not very exalted in sentiment.' 'As for the public events of his reign, for which honour is demanded for him, while in ignorance of his part in the accomplishment of them we know not how to concur in the praise. We must distinguish between the fly on the chariot and the causes of its course.'[2]

The chariot had advanced, however, and no small share of the progress was due to the zeal and wisdom of the newspaper reformers, among whom Albany Fonblanque now held the foremost place. 'It cannot be denied,' he said at the close of 1830, 'that for the last ten years step after step has been won, and not one inch of ground anywhere lost. We have experienced no defeats; we have been stayed, indeed, but never thrust back.'[3] Catholic emancipation had been gained; the

[1] *England under Seven Administrations*, vol. i. p. 154.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 16–18. [3] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 80.

Test and Corporation Act had been repealed; great, though insufficient, changes in fiscal arrangements had been made; vast improvements had been effected in the administration of the law, on which both in 'The Morning Chronicle' and in 'The Examiner' Fonblanque had insisted with special force and perseverance, though without neglect of other matters; and there had been much preparation for a breaking down of the oligarchic institution styled the House of Commons. All these victories, and many more, had been gained in defiance of an obstinate king and a series of Tory ministries, commanding Tory majorities in parliament, and with no more help from time-serving Whigs than they cared to render in languid sympathy with the misgoverned masses, and in less languid anxiety to oust their hereditary rivals from office and influence.

Though as yet there were no daily papers published out of London—with the exception of 'The Freeman's Journal' in Dublin, and of the obnoxious 'Saunders's Newsletter,' concerning which and its Orange compeers Daniel O'Connell said, 'They have "The Warden," which lies once a week, "The Mail," which lies three times a week, and sly "Saunders," which collects a heap of borrowed lies every morning'[1]—the provincial weeklies had made great progress during George III.'s reign, and nearly all the more important of these were Radical journals. Chief of all was 'The Manchester Guardian,' which had been established in 1821 by John Edward Taylor as a direct outcome of the reforming spirit that Lord Liverpool's administration had merely encouraged by the Peterloo massacre, and which, issued on Saturdays, had a Tuesday continuation in 'The Manchester Mercury'; and other vigorous papers, like 'The Scotsman' in Edinburgh, 'The Leeds

[1] *Westminster Review*, January 1830, p. 89.

Mercury,' and 'The Liverpool Mercury,' which called themselves Liberal in preference to Radical, were far in advance of orthodox Whig opinion. It is more remarkable than strange that, with few exceptions, the only formidable country papers of Tory views were those, like 'The Birmingham Gazette,' kept up by outside help in strongholds of Radicalism, while in Tory-controlled and aristocratic towns like Brighton, which had its 'Herald' and its 'Guardian,' only Radical journalism was popular.[1] The high prices necessitated by the stamp duty, and the poverty of the working classes, prevented more than a few of the country papers from having a large sale; but it was reckoned in 1830 that in Manchester each copy of the 'Guardian' and the 'Mercury' had at least seventy or eighty readers upon an average, and their influence and authority as promoters of reform was very great indeed.

In London, also, several new papers were started in these years to give utterance to the demands of zealous reformers, one such being 'The World,' commenced in December 1826, and edited by Stephen Bourne, which was the first and only organ of the Nonconformists until it gave place, in 1833, to 'The Patriot,' under the management of Josiah Conder.

The most notable of the new London weekly papers, however, were 'The Atlas' and 'The Spectator.' 'The Atlas' made a very ambitious appearance on Sun-

[1] *Westminster Review*, January 1830, pp. 73, 74. 'A few years ago,' says the same informant (p. 77), 'it was by no means unusual to see advertisements, "Wanted, an editor for a provincial newspaper who understands the business of reporting and can work at case." We have heard of one instance in which a gentleman was offered 80*l.* per annum, to compile a paper, write an original leader, report the proceedings before the magistrates, compose two columns of the paper, and assist in the evening in serving in the shop of the proprietor, who was a stationer.' The better country papers had passed out of that stage before 1830; though parallels could be found to it in 1887.

day, May 21, 1826, as 'a general newspaper and journal of literature, on the largest sheet ever printed,' and the high price of a shilling was charged for its sixteen folio pages, with three columns on each page. It was started as an organ of the Benthamite school, and, after a few weeks, the editorship was assigned to Robert Stephen Rintoul, a very able Scotchman, now in his fortieth year, who, having managed 'The Dundee Advertiser' with great success for more than twelve years after its commencement in 1813, in the course of which time he made the acquaintance of Joseph Hume and other prominent Radicals, was invited to undertake more important work in London. He made a promising beginning on 'The Atlas,' with Hazlitt, Fonblanque, and others to assist him; but differences of some sort arose between the proprietors and the editor of 'The Atlas;' and, Fonblanque going to 'The Examiner,' Hume and others raised a fund to enable Rintoul to start 'The Spectator' as their champion in the press.

The first number of the new paper appeared on July 5, 1828, and it was throughout nearly thirty years under the absolute control of Rintoul, who used it very skilfully and worthily as an exponent of what he called 'educated Radicalism.' It was somewhat crotchety from the first, but unquestionably honest, ably written, and remarkably well edited as regards both its selection and epitomising of news and its literary and political criticisms. 'He had a natural propensity to examine every question from all points of view,' we are told of Rintoul by one of his disciples. 'He was anxious to free his mind from all prepossessions that might obscure the truth; and the fusion or confusion of parties at the time "The Spectator" was started predisposed the general public to support

a journal conducted in this impartial spirit.'[1] It was a special school, however, rather than the general public that accepted Rintoul's guidance, and he was an apt interpreter of views touching parliamentary and other reform which were held by Benthamites like Grote and influential associates like Hume. 'He was a reformer both by conviction and sentiment. He was no party man; but here was a national, not a party movement. The sympathies of all his most valued political advisers were with the reform movement. After mature and dispassionate reflection, he came to the conclusion that it was his duty as a journalist to throw himself into the scale of reform.'[2] 'The Spectator' soon became a power in his hands.

It was probably the competition of 'The Spectator' which led Dr. Fellowes to make Fonblanque editor and 'trustee,' as well as leader-writer, of 'The Examiner' at the close of 1830, and from that time it was, as regards news and general information, a far more energetic exponent of the best and most forcible Radicalism than it had been before. 'Dr. Fellowes's politics,' said Fonblanque in 1847, 'were those of an enlightened Radical reformer, more than Whig but short of Chartist. The steady progress of improvement was what he desired. He quarrelled not if it were somewhat slow, so that advance was made. The spirit of toleration which was his animating spirit preached patience in politics as in everything else; and so that evil was yielding to good, he made allowances for difficulties and delays.'[3] Fellowes and Fonblanque were of one mind; and the latter, forcibly and pungently, with flashing wit and sustained humour, gave voice to the thoughts and aspirations of both. 'There is one thing,'

[1] *Spectator*, May 1, 1858. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, p. 27.

Lord Durham wrote to Fonblanque in 1836, 'which I admire more than your rare wit, your irresistible humour, and fine scholarship ; and that is the thorough healthiness of your political views.' [1]

The question of parliamentary reform was not new, but assumed new shape, when the death of George IV. and the political re-arrangements that followed it brought the Whigs into power. Fonblanque had insisted upon it all along in 'The Examiner' ; had made merry over such Whig suggestions as one that appeared in 'The Morning Chronicle' in 1828, to the effect that the best way to improve the quality of the House of Commons was to raise the property qualification, seeing that a low franchise only increased the power of the aristocracy over 'the proletarians, who have a slavish worship of rank' ; had pointed out the pernicious working of aristocratic tyranny in such articles as one on 'The Parliamentary Slave Trade of 1829,' denouncing the Duke of Newcastle's ejectment of tenants who refused to vote as he bade them ; and had emphasised in every way, by clear argument and apt illustration, the views put forward by Bentham and the Benthamites. In a string of 'Anticipations,' containing suggestions for a political dictionary that might be compiled in the twentieth century, he defined 'parliament' as 'a compound from the French of "parler," to speak, and "mentir," to lie.' 'Hence,' he said, 'truth is called unparliamentary language. Before the Reformation the great business of the houses of legislature was to deceive the people. They openly called themselves "the estates," and were cultivated for the benefit of the aristocracy.' He was not prepared to admit that the reformation he desired was assured when, in November 1830, the Wellington administration was defeated by a majority

[1] *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, p. 34.

of 233 to 204, and when, in consequence, Earl Grey formed his composite cabinet of Whigs, Canningites and nondescripts; or even when in December a committee, consisting of Lord John Russell, the cleverest manipulator of Whig compromises, Lord Durham, the most Radical of the Whigs, Sir James Graham, the most Radical of the Canningites, and Lord Duncannon, was appointed to prepare a scheme for such reconstruction of the parliamentary machine as might humour the nation without more weakening than was inevitable, perhaps with actual strengthening, of the aristocracy. And after Lord John Russell had introduced his famous measure in March 1831, while Fonblanque was ready to accept the bill as it stood, if it could not be improved, he was especially anxious to improve it, and only joined in the popular cry which Rintoul had started in 'The Spectator'—'The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill!'—in the sense of tolerating nothing less than the bill.

After the House of Commons, for rejecting Lord John Russell's project, had been dissolved in April, and appeal made to the people to elect a new house by which the question should be decided, and after the revived bill, as passed by that house in September, had been rejected by the Lords in October—that is, while preparation was being made for the final struggle and victory—John Stuart Mill wrote a characteristic letter to Fonblanque. 'What I want to talk to you about is the critical state of public affairs,' he said. 'I am persuaded that everything depends on the attitude of the people. Their enemies will give up nothing, but in the fear of worse following. *That* we may lay down as a certain position. Well, then, how is that attitude to be secured? The difficulties are very great. The people, to be in the best state, should appear to be ready and

impatient to break out into outrage, *without actually breaking out.* The press, which is our only instrument, has at this moment the most delicate and the most exalted functions to discharge that any power has yet had to perform in this country. It has at once to raise the waves and to calm them; to say, like the Lord, "Hitherto shalt thou go, and no further." With such words ringing in their ears, ministers cannot waver if they would; and I think you have begun to distrust them, or at least to express your distrust, too soon. We should do everything we can to prevent even the appearance of the cabinet not being with us, and I believe they are heartily in earnest with the bill; that is, as far as Schedules A and B[1] and the 10*l.* qualification. With these conditions I am at ease about the rest, and if there are certain things which will enable certain lords to say, "Ah! the bill is now endurable," I know no objection. Given A and B and the qualification, and I say it is *the bill.* The parliament will meet, if not on the day to which it is prorogued, certainly on December 1; that I believe on good authority. We must, therefore, hold the language of assurance; tell the lords that they will have but a short respite, and that the king—let us not forget him—and the people will not be disappointed. I am terrified at the idea of any collapse in the public mind—that there should be any idea of despondency. This would give heart, and along with it strength, to our bitter enemies; and this

[1] Disfranchising entirely sixty small boroughs, which returned in all a hundred and nineteen members, and taking one apiece from forty-seven other boroughs, then returning ninety-four members. By Schedules C, D, E and F it was proposed to add forty-two members to town and fifty-five to county constituencies in England, and five in Scotland, one in Wales, and three in Ireland; thus reducing the total strength of the House of Commons from 658 to 596. These figures were considerably altered afterwards.

would be a sure effect of the opinion that we are abandoned by the ministers.'[1]

In another letter, written early in 1835, Mill showed himself angry with Fonblanque for not insisting strongly enough on the ballot, to which Mill himself was stoutly opposed in later years, but which, with his concurrence, Grote had proposed in 1834 to the first House of Commons elected under the Reform Act and which Grote again proposed to the next parliament in June 1835. 'Unless you and a few others bestir yourselves, and give the word to the people to meet and petition for the ballot during the next few weeks, Grote's motion will go off flatly, as it did last year, and if so the consequences will be unspeakably mischievous. It is enough to drive one mad to see everybody do everything except the precise thing which is of importance at the time, and so every opportunity lost.'[2]

Fonblanque did not deserve Mill's reproach. Few men knew so well as he how to use the best weapons and choose the best occasions for attacking abuses and promoting reforms, and he got frequent and valuable help in both ways from Mill, who in these years wrote much in 'The Examiner,' and who acknowledged that his friend was 'zealous in keeping up the fight for Radicalism against the Whig ministers.'[3] They afterwards fell apart, however, and Fonblanque always declined to be ranked with the 'philosophical Radicals,' deeming that in holding aloof from all sects and cliques he could best prove himself a loyal disciple of Bentham. The 'philosophical Radicals' were at this time somewhat at variance among themselves, as appeared in the setting up in 1834 of 'The London Review' in opposition to 'The Westminster'; and 'The Spectator' was

[1] *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, pp. 29, 30. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[3] *Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*, p. 197.

the avowed spokesman for their more important section. There is curious illustration of the instability of some of the politicians in the fact that in 1834, when Fonblanque proposed to several of his friends that they should pay ten years' subscriptions to 'The Examiner' in one amount, to enable him to set up new printing machinery, two volunteers to the fund were Edward Bulwer, at that time Radical member for Lincoln, and Benjamin Disraeli, lately defeated as a Radical at Wycombe, and now Radical candidate for Marylebone. Another and a less versatile contributor to the fund was William, afterwards Sir William, Clay, who, in his letter to Fonblanque, 'trusts the time may yet arrive when the editor of "The Examiner" shall be as widely acknowledged as he justly deserves to rank among the very foremost of those whose labours have tended to make truth prevalent, have furthered the sacred cause of equal rights, of government for the good of all, and promoted consequently in the highest degree the happiness of mankind.' [1]

Fonblanque had plenty to do in criticising, and supporting where he thought it worthy of support, the conduct of Lord Grey's and Lord Melbourne's administrations until the latter's collapse in 1834, and afterwards in more boldly attacking the short-lived government of Sir Robert Peel. The business that most concerns us here, however, was the increased agitation now on foot for removing the legal restrictions on newspapers. 'The disputes about the liberty of the press,' Fonblanque wrote in a lively article on 'The Black Art' in 1831, 'will one day be read with as much wonder as the disputes about witchcraft. The belief that helpless old hags could ride the winds, and dispense sickness, sorrow, and calamity, will not seem less

[1] *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, pp. 35, 36.

astonishing than the belief that poor scribblers can exercise baneful powers over the public mind, and order at pleasure the rise and fall of institutions. Libel is the black art of modern times; the pen, the broomstick; the press, the cauldron; and the viler the ingredients flung in, of the more fearful potency the charm is supposed to be.' But witches, he urged, had not been got rid of by persecutions, which had only degraded them and made them more obnoxious and law-breaking; and so it must be with the press. 'By imposing taxes on newspapers, which place them out of reach of the needy, a contraband trade has been called into existence, and a cheap illicit spirit, ten times above proof, has been hawked among the working classes. The cheap publications, of whose inflammatory tendency so much complaint is made, are the offspring of the stamp duties. Reduce the price of the journals which have some character at stake for truth and knowledge, and this fry would sink in the competition.' [1]

The complaints of well-to-do and self-satisfied people about the so-called vice of the illicit papers, and the complaints of the producers and readers of those papers about the tyranny with which they were treated, had both been growing for many years; and this quarrel now became far more serious and important than the still very frequent recurrence of the old persecutions of the high-priced journals under the Libel Act.

The newspaper stamp, which since 1815 had been fourpence, with a discount of twenty per cent., for each copy sold, together with the tax of three shillings and sixpence on each advertisement, and the duty on paper, varying from three half-pence to threepence a pound, according to quality, was a heavy burden on the pro-

[1] *England under Seven Administrations*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 145.

prietors of the high-priced journals and their readers, the charge which it was found necessary to make for 'The Times,' 'The Examiner,' and most of the daily and weekly papers being sevenpence, and for some, like 'The Spectator' and 'The Atlas,' as much as tenpence and a shilling.[1] But the hardship upon those who could not afford to pay such prices was much greater. The law was repeatedly eluded by adventurous publishers of surreptitious prints, some of which, if their circulation was small, were not seriously hunted down; and it was openly evaded in some cases, especially in 'Cobbett's Register,' which, issued in the form and style of a small magazine or pamphlet, escaped the stamp duty and was sold for twopence. The issuing of such publications as 'Cobbett's Register' without being stamped had, however, been rendered illegal by the fifth of the Six Acts passed in 1819. Joseph Hume proposed the abolition of this act in 1827, but there were only twelve members of the House of Commons, including himself, to support the motion; and he had been equally unsuccessful in 1825, when he moved the reduction of the stamp duty

[1] The payments made by the proprietors of *The Times* to the Exchequer in 1828 were as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
3,046,500 stamps	48,516	13	4
Duty on 92,969 advertisements . .	16,269	11	6
,, 6,703 reams of paper, at 10*s*. .	3,351	3	0
	68,137	7	10

During the same year William Clement paid, on account of *The Morning Chronicle* and his three other papers, *The Observer*, *Bell's Life in London*, and *The Englishman*:—

	£	s.	d.
2,735,868 stamps	45,597	15	0
Duty on 29,638 advertisements . .	5,185	15	6
,, 5,471 reams of paper, at 10*s*. .	2,735	10	0
	53,519	0	6

Being in the one case nearly 1,300*l*., and in the other more than 1,000*l*. a week.—*Westminster Review*, January 1829, pp. 217, 218.

to twopence, and the advertisement tax to a shilling. It was an inevitable sequel to these failures that, in years of such public excitement and demand for news as those before and after the passing of the Reform Act, the law and its agents in the stamp office should be boldly defied. A systematic war against the authorities began, and lasted till victory was achieved, in which Henry Hetherington was the captain and the chief hero, though James Watson, William Carpenter, Julian Hibbert, John Cleave, William Lovett, and others were brave and honest fellow-workers and fellow-sufferers.

Hetherington, born in 1792, was a printer and bookseller in Soho and afterwards in the Strand, who was one of George Birkbeck's earliest and most active associates in promoting mechanics' institutes, and zealous in other work for the improvement of the people. He was also the chief founder of the Metropolitan Political Union in March 1830, which was the germ both of trades-unionism and of the Chartist movement.[1] 'Of all the men in the battle for the people's right,' says one of his friends, 'I have known none more single-minded, few so brave, so generous, so gallant as he. He was the most chivalrous of all our party. He could neglect his own interests; but he never did, and never could, neglect his duty to the cause he had embraced, to the principles he had avowed. There was no notoriety-hunting in him. He would toil in any unnoticeable good work for freedom, in any "forlorn hope," even, when he saw that justice was with them, for men who were not of his party, as cheerfully and vigorously as most other men will labour for money or fame or respectability. If strife and wrath lay in his path, it was seldom from any fault of

[1] *Life and Struggles of William Lovett*, pp. 54, 56; W. J. Linton, *James Watson; a Memoir*, p. 34.

his ; for, though hasty, as a man of impulsive nature, and chafed by some afflictions, he was not intolerant, nor quarrelsome, nor vindictive. He was utterly without malice, and he would not have harmed his worst enemy, though, in truth, he detested tyranny and tyrants.'[1]

In the autumn of 1830, following the example of William Carpenter in some 'Political Letters' that he had published at irregular intervals, Hetherington commenced a series of 'Penny Papers for the People,' at first issued daily and afterwards weekly, each being in the style of a letter addressed to the people of England, or to some individual, such as the Duke of Wellington, King George, or the Archbishop of Canterbury, and intended 'to provide cheap political information' of a sort not friendly to the Tory government, but in no way seditious, and in far better taste than such Tory utterances as appeared in 'John Bull' or 'The Age.' For issuing these sheets, however, without their being stamped, and also for printing and selling other revolutionary literature, he was prosecuted and fined. Thereupon, on July 9, 1831, he started 'The Poor Man's Guardian,' an eight-paged quarto sheet, stated on the title to be 'a weekly newspaper for the People, established contrary to Law, to try the power of Might against Right.' 'Defiance is our only remedy,' he said in the opening page of his first number. 'We cannot be a slave in all. We submit to much, for it is impossible to be wholly consistent; but we will try, step by step, the power of right against might, and we will begin by protecting and upholding this grand bulwark of all our rights, this key to all our liberties, the freedom of the press—the press, too, of the ignorant and the poor.' Reports of democratic meetings and of

[1] Linton, *James Watson*, p. 35.

acts of oppression by the government, and other items of information ostentatiously bringing 'The Poor Man's Guardian' under the definition of a newspaper, were given, and it contained strongly-worded articles and letters attacking the authorities; but, for some time at any rate, there was nothing that could be reasonably condemned, and at no time was there anything that a prudent government would have chosen to interfere with.

Earl Grey's government, however, was hardly more prudent than the Duke of Wellington's, and 'The Poor Man's Guardian' was manifestly issued in violation of the Newspaper Stamp Act and the act of 1819. Hetherington, accordingly, was promptly prosecuted, as also were, in the course of three and a half years, upwards of eight hundred vendors of his publication, and of others started, not in rivalry with it, but to assist in the war with the authorities; and of these about five hundred were fined, or imprisoned, or both. Hetherington himself was sent twice for terms of six months to Clerkenwell gaol, and once for twelve months to the King's Bench prison; Carpenter was confined for six months in the King's Bench prison; Watson for two terms of six months in Clerkenwell; Cleave for two months in Tothill-fields; Abel Heywood for three months in Manchester; Mrs. Mann for three months in Leeds; and so on. A 'victim fund' was started to defray the expenses of trials and to maintain the families of those in prison; and all the supporters of the movement made it their business to circulate the forbidden literature. 'The Guardian' was printed surreptitiously, sold by volunteers in workshops and club-rooms, sent about the country in chests of tea, packets of shoes, and such-like parcels, and quickly brought by the persecutions into far wider circulation

than it would have had if its distributors had been left alone. Hetherington, when not in prison, 'was hunted from place to place like a wild beast, and obliged to have recourse to all kinds of manœuvres in order to see and correspond with his family'; and his comrades were driven to similar straits.[1] At length, after the hundreds of prosecutions had been carried on in the lower courts, Hetherington was brought, apparently for greater effect, before Lord Lyndhurst and a special jury in the Court of Exchequer in June 1834. He defended himself with great spirit, and to everyone's astonishment the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.[2] That finding, in which Lord Lyndhurst concurred, though it was evidently contrary to the letter of the law, established a precedent which public opinion approved, and nearly put an end to the persecutions that had hitherto been carried on. Hetherington immediately started a larger paper, 'The Twopenny Dispatch,' in which 'The Poor Man's Guardian' was merged at the close of the year; and by that time the market was flooded with other unstamped twopenny papers, some of them coarse and scurrilous, and all of them opposed to Lord Grey's government, which they represented as in no way better than the Tory administrations that had preceded it.

One consequence of the popularising of cheap political literature which Hetherington and his friends effected was a movement, in itself admirable, and wholly beneficial in its effects, to provide other and non-political reading at a low price for the masses. 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal' was commenced in February 1832; and it was quickly followed by Charles Knight's

[1] Linton, pp. 2, 23, 33; Lovett, pp. 59-61; Knight Hunt, vol. ii. pp. 75-80.

[2] *Poor Man's Guardian*, June 21, 1834.

'Penny Magazine,' issued under the auspices of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, of which Brougham, now Lord Chancellor, was president, and by several other and less successful serials of a like sort. These publications were as illegal as were Hetherington's, and, although no reasonable person could wish them suppressed, even reasonable persons were slow in recognising the monstrous injustice of imprisoning Hetherington and his friends, and not their rivals. When, for example, a young man was charged before a magistrate in June, 1832, with selling 'The Poor Man's Guardian,' that official, in committing the culprit to prison for a month, said that 'there were many publications in circulation by the sale of which in the streets he could make out a livelihood without running the hazard of punishment; for instance, there were "The Penny Magazine," "The National Omnibus," and several other useful and cheap works, which contained none of the inflammatory trash by which "The Poor Man's Guardian" was chiefly distinguished.' 'This is too bad indeed!' exclaimed Albany Fonblanque, in 'The Examiner.' 'All lovers of justice must agree in reprobating the selection of a particular publication for prosecution, while others are allowed to transgress the same law with impunity. The punishment, in fact, is not for selling an unstamped paper containing news, but for expressing opinions offensive to government. The magistrate's recommendation of "The Penny Magazine," which is not prosecuted, and which is started by ministers, and protected by their interest in its success, is vastly significant. Justice requires that all publications contravening the law should be prosecuted, or none. The law, if good, should in every instance be rigorously enforced; and, if not in every instance enforced, it should be repealed, or its operation

is a scandalous injustice. Journalists who obey the law are injured by those who defy it; but we see no reason —though the solicitor of stamps and attorney-general, doubtless, do—why "The Poor Man's Guardian" should be suppressed, while "The Penny Magazine" is suffered to poach with impunity, and recommended by magistrates on the bench as a better smuggling speculation!'[1] The authorities and the public, however, were not easily persuaded by men like Fonblanque to take that common-sense view.

'The Poor Man's Guardian,' though an average number, sold for a penny, contained very much less than one-seventh as much disloyalty, profanity, and vulgarity as could be found in an average number of 'John Bull' or 'The Age,' sold for sevenpence, was certainly not as profitable reading as a number of 'The 'Penny Magazine,' or of 'Chambers's Journal,' and Hetherington and his editors, at first Edward Mayhew, and afterwards James Bronterre O'Brien, were neither as learned nor as clever, though they may have been as honest, and were certainly as self-sacrificing, as Barnes, of 'The Times,' or Black, of 'The Morning Chronicle'; but to them and to their fellow victims is due no small share of the credit for having encouraged a taste for cheap literature, non-political as well as political, and for having shown how it could be produced. Another debt we owe to them, and a service which vastly enhanced that other service, was the speedy reduction and ultimate abolition of the stamp duty and of all other taxes on knowledge. Fonblanque and his friends were but auxiliaries in the great battle that Hetherington and his friends here won for the community.

The agitation for repeal of the stamp duty began

[1] *Examiner*, June 17, 1832.

before 'The Poor Man's Guardian' was started on the crusade by which it was made successful. Several petitions to parliament, presented by Lord Morpeth, Edward Strutt and others, obtained from Poulett Thomson, on behalf of the Duke of Wellington's government, a promise in November 1830, that a proposal for amending the Stamp Act should be brought forward before Christmas; but Wellington's overthrow annulled that promise, and it was not repeated by Earl Grey's administration, which succeeded. Meetings were held in London and elsewhere, and petitions were presented and briefly discussed during 1831, without avail.

The first important handling of the question in the House of Commons was on June 15, 1832, three days after the hearing of the police case which has been cited. Bulwer, in an eloquent speech, then moved a resolution in favour of abolishing all taxes impeding the diffusion of knowledge, pointing out that the stamp and advertisement duties, adding to the necessary charge for newspapers at least three times as much as the money required to produce them and to yield a fair profit, tended to throw the trade into the hands of a few worthless monopolists, and, keeping sound political information out of the reach of the masses, forced them to have recourse to 'matter made level to their means, through defiance of the law, and seasoned for their passions and prejudices.' He quoted 'an intelligent mechanic,' who had said to him, 'We go to the public-house to read the sevenpenny papers, but only for the news. It is the cheap penny paper that the working man has by him to take up, and read over and over again whenever he has leisure, that forms his opinions.' If the stamp and advertisement duties were removed, Bulwer urged, much better papers than were now sold for sevenpence could be sold for twopence; and if a fair charge was made

for postage, that alone, with the increased demand, would soon restore the balance of revenue.[1] In America, where newspapers were untaxed, and therefore cheaper, they were far more abundant than in England. Pennsylvania, with a population of 1,200,000, had a weekly supply of 300,000 papers, or one to every four inhabitants, whereas the whole United Kingdom had a weekly supply of only 638,000, or but one to every thirty-six inhabitants. It was our iniquitous stamp duty that caused this difference. 'The stamp duty,' Bulwer declared, 'checks legitimate knowledge, which is morality—the morals of a nation—but it encourages the diffusion of contraband ignorance; the advertisement duty assists our finances only by striking at that very commerce from which our finances are drawn; it cripples at once literature and trade. We have heard enough in this house of the necessity of legislating for property and intelligence, but we now feel the necessity of legislating for poverty and intelligence. At present we are acquainted with the poorer part of our fellow-countrymen only by their wrongs and murmurs, their misfortunes and their crimes. But let us at last open happier and wiser channels of communication between them and us. We have made a long and fruitless experiment of the gibbet and the hulks. In 1825 we transported 283 persons, but so vast, so rapid was our increase on this darling system of legislation, that three years afterwards, in 1828, we transported as many as 2,449. During the last three years our gaols have been sufficiently filled. We have seen enough of the effects of human ignorance. We have shed a sufficiency of human blood. Is it not time to pause? Is it not time to consider whether, as

[1] The fourpenny stamp, of course, franked papers by post; but one of the hardships of the Stamp Act was that it forced buyers to pay heavily for postage whether they wanted it or not.

Christians and as men, we have a right to correct before we attempt to instruct?' Daniel O'Connell seconded Bulwer's motion; but Lord Althorp, on behalf of the government, opposed it as 'a proposition which he could not deny,' but 'from the affirmation of which no practical good could result,' and it was withdrawn without courting defeat by a division in an unfriendly house.[1]

The turmoil incident to the passing of the Reform Bill afforded some excuse for the apathy of parliament on the newspaper stamp question in 1832; but the apathy continued after the turmoil was over, and it was partly due to the shortsightedness and selfishness of the proprietors of most of the high-priced papers. Among them 'The Examiner' stood almost alone in its insistence on the change which was necessary to the healthy progress of the press. The prosperous daily and weekly journals, for the most part, were willing to endure a charge which their readers could afford to pay rather than join in the popular demand for such a remission of the heavy tax as would facilitate the production of cheap papers and strengthen a rivalry that was sufficiently irritating to them while it was carried on only by law-breakers like Hetherington.

It is significant that the first concession made by the government, and obtained without much difficulty, was a reduction of the advertisement tax from three shillings and sixpence to eighteen pence in Great Britain, and from half a crown to a shilling in Ireland. This was effected in 1833, and was a great boon both to those newspapers which derived, or could expect to derive, much revenue from advertisements, and to those members of the community who found much advertising convenient or necessary. It was not of great benefit, or only indirectly beneficial, to the multitude.

[1] *Hansard's Debates*, 1832, p. 630; *Examiner*, June 17, 1832.

When it was ascertained, however, that the public exchequer, instead of suffering, at once gained by the reduction—the income from this source, which was 70,965*l.* for Great Britain in 1832, being 83,250*l.* in 1833[1]—the reformers were furnished with a powerful argument from experience in aid of their demand for the further reversal of a penny-wise, pound-foolish, fiscal policy.

On May 22, 1834, Bulwer again raised the question in parliament. His motion, 'That it is expedient to repeal the stamp duty on newspapers at the earliest possible period,' was seconded by John Arthur Roebuck, whose restless mind was much exercised on the subject during these years; but, in a languid and nearly empty house, it was supported by only fifty-eight members, and there were ninety votes against it. Fonblanque, who had objected to the reduction of the advertisement tax while the stamp duty was not touched, wrote bitterly about Bulwer's failure. 'The people who are craving for information,' he said, 'are not of the electoral body, and it is easier to vote troops to coerce them than to yield them access to knowledge by which they may guide their conduct according to the common interests of society. There are the gaol, the convict-ship, the gallows, for the errors of ignorance; and besides these, the misery and ruin which are unseen punishments. What need then of enlightenment to prevent what there is ample provision to chastise? Or, if the need be confessed, for the sake of humanity, yet how much greater, how much more important, the need of two or three hundred thousand pounds for the revenue? Perish the people, so that the revenue is sustained; and let them be as swine or as rabid brutes, so that the revenue suffers no abatement. The people are made for the revenue, and not the revenue for the people. While the

[1] Andrews, vol. ii. p. 217.

revenue furnishes bayonets, bullets, and field-pieces, what signifies the blindness of the people, and their liability to misguidance? Are there not squadrons to charge them, and artillery to sweep them down with grapeshot?'[1]

A spell of Tory rule, under Sir Robert Peel's premiership, was needed to convince the Whigs, under Earl Grey and Lord Melbourne, that they had not, in passing the Reform Bill, done all the work the Radicals required of them. During 1835 there was much activity throughout the country in holding meetings and petitioning parliament in opposition to the stamp duty; and John Cleave, Hetherington's brave but rougher colleague, who had conducted an unstamped 'Weekly Police Gazette,' which continued more coarsely the work of 'The Poor Man's Guardian,' became a hero and martyr when, on February 5, 1836, he was fined 500*l.* for his law-breaking. Six days later, on February 11, Lord Melbourne, being in office again, was waited upon by a deputation of thirty members of parliament and many others, for whom Birkbeck was chief spokesman, other speakers being Hume, O'Connell, and Francis Place, the famous 'Radical tailor of Charing Cross'; and their arguments and warnings helped to frighten the government into action.[2] On March 15 Spring Rice, the chancellor of the exchequer, announced in the House of Commons that the long-deferred question was being considered; and on June 20 he moved 'that it is expedient that the duty now payable be reduced, and that the duty paid and payable upon every sheet whereon a newspaper is printed shall in future be one penny.'

Much opposition was offered to that proposal. Sir

[1] *England under Seven Administrations*, vol. iii. pp. 50, 51.
[2] Knight Hunt, vol. ii. pp. 80–86.

Charles Knightley urged that the soap duty should be reduced instead of the newspaper duty. How, he inquired, could he ask a man for his vote who was able to say to him, 'Instead of giving me the opportunity of getting clean hands for myself, and clean garments for my wife and children on a Sunday, you give me at a low price a parcel of dirty newspapers'? 'Every individual to whom parliament had given the franchise,' Charles Barclay maintained, 'already possessed ample power of reading the papers, whether at the public-houses, beershops, or coffee or public reading rooms.' Henry Goulburn, John Walter, of 'The Times,' and others, protested against a measure that could not fail to lower the character of the press, and must seriously damage the vested interests of newspapers already established. The ministerial project was acceded to, however, by a majority of 241 to 208, and the measure brought in was read a third time in the Commons, by a majority of 55 to 7, on July 25. The bill was faulty in its original shape, and it was much injured by the House of Lords; but it became law on September 15, 1836.[1] Earlier in the session, as part of the budget, the paper duty had been fixed at a uniform rate of three-halfpence a pound.

The victory thus tardily won satisfied nobody. The proprietors of the high-priced newspapers made light of the opportunity afforded them of reducing their charges by twopence a copy, and deprecated the competition that would be forced upon them by the proprietors and projectors of cheap papers. These latter reasonably complained that, though the penny secured free postage, very few of the copies issued by them would go through the post, and that they would still be compelled to charge twopence or threepence apiece

[1] Andrews, vol. ii. pp. 226–233.

for their papers, which they could only expect to sell by hundreds at that price, instead of being able to sell them by thousands for a penny or three-halfpence. Economists alleged that the revenue would suffer; and politicians urged, with more truth, that the old grievance, whether reasonable or not, had not been removed, while a new grievance had been created.

Yet the benefits that ensued were great, and even the exchequer soon profited immensely by the change. In the half-year ending with April 5, 1837, the first in which the stamp duty was only a penny, the income from 21,362,148 stamps sold was 88,592*l.*, as against 196,909*l.* derived from 14,874,652 stamps sold at fourpence, with an allowance of twenty per cent., in the corresponding half-year, showing, on comparison of the two half-years, a loss of 108,317*l.* to the revenue, and an increase of 6,487,496 in the circulation; and the progressive increase of circulation quickly turned the scale as regards revenue. Whereas in 1816, the first year of the fourpenny duty, the circulation had been only 22,050,354, and it was only 39,423,200 in 1836, the last year of the fourpenny duty, it reached 83,074,638 in 1846, after ten years of the penny duty. During the twenty years of the fourpenny duty the average increase each year, in spite of heavy fiscal burthens and tyrannical enforcement of tyrannical laws, had been 868,643, which may be attributed to the growth of population and spread of intelligence. During the next ten years the average yearly increase was 4,365,144, or five times the previous average, and those were years in which the fiscal burthens were still heavy, and the laws not clear of tyranny. The progress must be attributed mainly to the comparative relief from oppression and to the general improvement of society which accompanied it; and the advance continued. In

1854, the last year but one of the compulsory penny stamp, the circulation was 122,178,507, more than a threefold growth in the course of eighteen years. Even in 1854, however, the complete enfranchisement of the press was only commencing; and, significant as is the evidence of figures, they reveal but a small part of the record.

CHAPTER XVI.

BARNES AND HIS RIVALS.

1830–1841.

When William IV. became king, Thomas Barnes was forty-five years old, and had been editor of 'The Times' for some thirteen years. Great as was the success already achieved by him in that post, and by John Walter as general controller of the business, 'The Times' was now to be a far more successful and influential paper. All through the reign of George IV., as well as during the regency, it had been a vigorous upholder of Tory politics, in the main supporting the administration of the day—whether Liverpool's, Canning's, Goderich's, or Wellington's; but it had always claimed or pretended to be independent, and especially in the later years, after Liverpool's retirement left the party in confusion, weakened by internal divisions, and only able to face the advancing tide of Radicalism by yielding sullenly and partially to its more imperious demands. So matters continued, or went on varying. The variations were more considerable, however, from the time when Earl Grey took office in the autumn of 1830, and while, with the brief interruption of Sir Robert Peel's first premiership, Lord Melbourne maintained the Whig supremacy till the autumn of 1841.

To an early stage in this period must be assigned one of Charles Greville's anecdotes. 'Le Marchant called late one night many years ago,' he wrote in 1847,

'on Barnes at his house, and while there another visitor arrived, whom he did not see, but who was shown into another room. Barnes went to him, and after a quarter of an hour returned, when Le Marchant said, "Shall I tell you who your visitor is?" Barnes said, yes, if he knew. "Well, then, I know his step and his voice; it is Lord Durham." Barnes owned it was, when Le Marchant said, "What does he come for?" Barnes said he came on behalf of King Leopold, who had been much annoyed by some article in "The Times," to entreat they would put one in of a contrary and healing description. As Le Marchant said, here was the proudest man in England come to solicit the editor of a newspaper for a crowned head!'[1]

Before Sir Denis Le Marchant became private secretary to Brougham as lord chancellor, and before Durham was made lord privy seal under his father-in-law, Earl Grey, and therefore before either of them could wait as ministerial intermediaries on the editor of 'The Times,' there had been frequent communications, of which we have seen something, between Barnes and the Tory leaders; and those leaders were in sore straits when Barnes broke with them, and made political capital for his paper out of the popular agitation for reform which was now on foot, and which caused Grey's displacement of Wellington as premier in November 1830. Another passage in Greville's instructive journals illustrates the alarm and perplexity, much increased by their lack of any capable or satisfactory organ in the press, in which the Tories were now placed. 'Yesterday,' Greville, who was at that time a zealous young Canningite, wrote on December 19, 1830, 'Mr. Stapleton, Canning's late private secretary, called on me to discuss the subject, and the propriety and possibility of setting up some

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. iii. p. 75.

dyke to arrest the torrent of innovation and revolution that is bursting in on every side. "John Bull" alone fights the battle; but "John Bull" defends so many indefensible things, that its advocacy is not worth much. An "Anti-Radical," upon the plan of the "Anti-Jacobin," might be of some use, provided it was well sustained. I wrote a letter yesterday to Barnes, remonstrating on the general tone of "The Times," and inviting him to adopt some Conservative principles in the midst of his zeal for reform.'[1]

No 'Anti-Radical' was started, and Canningite remonstrances with Barnes were futile. The Tories had to content themselves with such service as could be done to them by 'The Morning Herald' and 'The Morning Post,' by 'The Standard' as their worthiest organ, though only an evening paper, and by such disreputable weekly supporters as 'John Bull' and 'The Age.'[2] All through 1831 they were trying to get 'The Times' to give them at any rate some assistance. On November 21 Greville reported that his friend Henry De Ros had seen Barnes and 'opened negotiations' with him. 'Henry's object was to persuade him if possible, that the interest of the paper will be in the long run better

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 97.

[2] Nearly at the commencement of his premiership, Earl Grey had to complain to Sir Herbert Taylor, William IV.'s private secretary, of the way in which he suspected that people about the court, if not the king himself, were endeavouring to undermine his work by divulging cabinet secrets to Tory journalists and others. The immediate occasion was an anonymous letter he had received. 'It would not have obtained from me more attention than other anonymous letters,' he wrote, 'had I not heard of a conversation, exactly corresponding with it, which had been held at the Speaker's, in a party at which Mr. Croker and Mr. Theodore Hook were present. It had also been reported to me that several times there had appeared in *John Bull*—which I never see—details respecting the arrangements that were going on, which could not have been obtained except from persons who had accurate information respecting them. With this paper Mr. Hook is said to be connected. Mr. Croker is also said to write in it.'—*Correspondence of Earl Grey with William IV.*, vol. i.

consulted by leaning towards the side of order and quiet than by continuing to exasperate and inflame. He seemed to a certain degree moved by this argument, though he is evidently a desperate Radical.'[1]

Barnes was one of those discreet editors who set policy before principle, and subordinate their own opinions to the interests they are paid to serve. He did his work well, and with comparatively few blunders, and it may be taken for granted that, like most of the men placed in similar positions, and fitting into them in similar ways, he gradually came to hold views and to follow lines that were at first impossible or uncongenial to him. But it is likely enough that his personal sympathies were still with the reformers, and that he had kindly recollections of the time when he was really 'a desperate Radical'—the schoolfellow and the fellow-worker on 'The Examiner' of Leigh Hunt, and the friend of Shelley, Hazlitt, and others. He never quarrelled with his old comrades, though circumstances forced him far away from their company.

During more than the first year of Earl Grey's administration, all through the discussion on the first and second of its Reform Bills, and till the time when the third bill had nearly passed the committee stage in the House of Commons, 'The Times' was stoutly ministerialist. As early as January 1831 it was understood by the knowing ones that it was receiving private information from Lord Grey;[2] and such information continued to be supplied as often as there was occasion for it, and to be used in emphasising articles in support of the government, till the spring of 1832. When, on February 29, much commotion was caused by the premature appearance in 'The Times' of extracts from a letter of Lord Harrowby's to Lord Grey,

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 214. [2] *Croker Papers*, vol. ii. p. 118.

Greville wrote: 'I have little doubt that this, as well as former extracts, came from the shop of Durham and Co., and so Melbourne told me he thought likewise.' 'Day after day "The Times" puts forth paragraphs evidently manufactured in the Durham shop,' Greville added on March 6. 'Yesterday there was one which exhibited their mortification and rage so clearly as to be quite amusing—praising the duke and the Tories, and abusing Harrowby and Wharncliffe and the Moderates.' That last sentence, however, shows that a change, not apprehended by Greville, had already begun. It was not 'Durham and Co.,' but the Duke of Wellington and the Tories that 'The Times' wanted to please by its attack on Lord Harrowby and the Moderates.[1] '"The Times," yesterday and the day before,' Greville wrote on the 9th, 'attacked Lord Grey with a virulence and indecency about the peers that is too much even for those who take the same line, and he now sees where his subserviency to the press has conducted him.'[2]

The precise reasons for that sudden turning round have not been disclosed; but they can easily be guessed. John Walter, the principal proprietor of 'The Times,' was now about to enter parliament, and, though he never called himself a Tory, all his leanings were towards Toryism, and the threat to swamp the House of Lords with Whig peers in order to pass the Reform Bill, which was now being uttered and discussed in the inner political and courtly circles, frightened many besides Lord Wharncliffe. Henceforth 'The Times,' though it only occasionally denounced the ministerial policy, gave no more support to Earl Grey's administration than it had given to the Duke of Wellington's. Of its attitude when a measure of such importance as Lord Grey's Irish Coercion Bill was before parliament,

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 264, 266. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 267.

and of the control which it exercised over divided public opinion, and all the more successfully, perhaps, because of its claim to independence, striking illustration is furnished by Greville. 'The government,' he wrote on February 27, 1833, 'assumes a high tone, but is not at all certain of its ability to pass the Coercion Bills unaltered, and yesterday there appeared an article in "The Times" in a style of lofty reproof and severe admonition which was no doubt as appalling as it was meant to be. This article made what is called a great sensation. Always struggling, as this paper does, to take the lead of public opinion, and watching all its turns and shifts with perpetual anxiety, it is at once regarded as undoubted evidence of its direction, and dreaded for the influence which its powerful writing and extensive sale have placed in its hands. It is no small homage to the power of the press to see that an article like this makes as much noise as the declaration of a powerful minister or a leader of opposition could do in either house of parliament.' [1]

When Earl Grey, thwarted by his own colleagues, and especially by his son-in-law, Lord Durham, in his Irish coercion policy, resigned the premiership in July, 1834, to be succeeded for a term of only four months by Lord Melbourne, 'The Times,' foreseeing and hastening the end, was bolder and more persistent in its attacks, and these for some time were especially directed against Lord Brougham, who, though he had been for a long time a regular contributor to its columns, was in no way spared on that account. The special occasion was the very foolish and vain-glorious conduct of Brougham during a tour of holiday-making and speech-making in Scotland. 'For some weeks past,' Greville reported on September 18, 'a fierce war has been waged by "The

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 362.

Times" against the chancellor. It was declared in some menacing articles which soon swelled into a tone of rebuke, and have since sharpened into attacks of a constancy, violence, and vigour quite unexampled. All the power of writing which the paper can command—argument, abuse, and ridicule—have been heaped day after day upon him, and when it took a little breathing time it filled up the interval by quotations from other papers, which have been abundantly supplied both by the London and the country press. I do not yet know what are the secret causes which have stirred the wrath of "The Times." "The Examiner" has once a week thrown into the general contribution of rancour an article perhaps wittier and more pungent than any which have appeared in "The Times"; but between them they have flagellated him till he is raw, and it is very clear that he feels it quite as acutely as they can desire.'[1]

One of the 'secret causes' of 'the wrath of "The Times"' which Greville had not fathomed was afterwards explained, not very adequately, in a curious way. A clerk in the lord chancellor's court, we are told, one morning saw Brougham reading a letter, which he presently tore up and threw on the floor. The treacherous clerk picked up the fragments and pieced them together, showing the letter to be as follows :—

DEAR BROUGHAM,—What I want to see you about is 'The Times': whether we are to make war on it or come to terms.

Yours ever,

ALTHORP.

This document, it is added, found its way to Printing House Square, and gave such offence to Barnes or Walter that 'The Times' proceeded to 'make war' without recognising an alternative. In its condemnation of Brougham it predicted that 'Lord Melbourne would soon find him out, as the honest men of the

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 133.

community were an overmatch for the knaves'; and the only excuse it allowed for him was that he was mad, 'under a morbid excitement seldom evinced by those of his majesty's subjects who are suffered to remain masters of their own actions.'

'The Examiner' had better excuse than 'The Times' for attacking Lord Brougham, whose arrogance and vanity were always obnoxious to Fonblanque, and who was now making unusual exhibition of these qualities. Brougham had met Earl Grey at a great banquet in Edinburgh, and had then exclaimed in insulting allusion to his former chief, '*These* hands are pure! In taking office, in holding office, in retaining office, I have sacrificed no feeling of a public nature, I have deserted no friend, I have abandoned no principle, I have forfeited no pledge, I have done no job, I have promoted no unworthy man, to the best of my knowledge; I have not abused the ear of my royal master, and I have not deserted the cause of the people.' This utterance prompted Fonblanque to insert in 'The Examiner' a rhymed 'Letter from a Gentleman who travels for a large Establishment to one of his Employers, Mr. William King':—

Dear sir, the account here forwarded
Of favours since the 4th
Presents a very handsome stroke
Of business in the North.
Our firm's new style don't take at all,
So thought the prudent thing
Would be to cultivate the old
Established name of King.

If any friend attention shows,
And asks me out to dine
When company my health propose,
In toddy or in wine,
My heart's eternal gratitude
About their ears I ding
With, 'Be assured I'll mention this
Next post to Mr. King!'

I met with Grey the other day,
Who since he left the firm,
Has travelled on his own account,
And done, I fear, some harm;
So thought it right, where'er he went,
To whisper round the ring,
'Perhaps you don't know *how* he lost
The confidence of King.'

It is probable, however, that Brougham made no objection to the 'flagellation' of 'The Times' or 'The Examiner.' Publicity of any sort was delightful to him, and, in default of other people's abuse, he publicly quarrelled with himself. It was somewhat before this time that, as we are told, Barnes called one day on the lord chancellor, and, while waiting in a private room till his contributor had left the bench, took up a copy of 'The Morning Chronicle,' in which he read an article demolishing one that had appeared in 'The Times' of the previous day. Barnes recognised the style. 'Well,' he said, when Brougham came to him, 'it is almost too bad of you to demolish yourself in this way'; and the chancellor, finding evasion useless, had to admit that he had earned a double fee with truly lawyer-like impartiality.[1]

Less than two months after the furious attacks upon him had appeared in 'The Times,' Brougham had the credit of rendering it some service, by an act that spoilt his chance of ever being lord chancellor again. When, on November 14, Lord Melbourne tendered his resignation to the king, he did so without consulting his colleagues, and did not even take the trouble to inform them on the same evening, except that, as Greville reports, he mentioned the important fact to Brougham, who happened to call upon him; 'but made him promise not to say a word of it to anybody.' Brougham

[1] Knight Hunt, vol. ii. p. 177.

'promised, and the moment he quitted the house went to "The Times" office, and told them what had occurred.'[1]

'The Times' of November 15 contained this startling paragraph: 'We have no authority for the important statement which follows, but we have every reason to believe that it is perfectly true. We give it without any comment or explanation, in the very words of the communication which reached us at a late hour last night. "The king has taken the opportunity of Lord Spencer's death to turn out the ministry, and there is every reason to believe that the Duke of Wellington has been sent for. The queen has done it all."' Apart from the impropriety of announcing Lord Melbourne's resignation in 'The Times' before he had communicated it to his colleagues,[2] the offence of the paragraph was in its last sentence. Queen Adelaide, with her imperious bearing, her extravagant habits, and her scheming ways, had always been a more difficult person for ministers to deal with than her husband; but to throw public blame on her was an intolerable outrage. While the Duke of Wellington, having hurried up from Brighton in obedience to the royal summons, was urging the king to retain the Melbourne administration, Sir Herbert Taylor burst into the room, and showed 'The Times' article to the king. 'There, duke,' said his majesty, 'you see how I am insulted and betrayed. Nobody in London but Melbourne knew last night what had taken place

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 144. *The Examiner* and other papers confirm Greville's account. Croker, however (*Papers*, vol. ii. p. 246), said it was 'Bear' Allen who played the traitor.

[2] 'When Lord Holland saw the papers next morning,' Croker reported (*Papers*, vol. ii. p. 246), 'he said "Well, here's another hoax!" Lord Lansdowne equally disbelieved it, and I believe one or two others of the cabinet also learnt the dissolution from the newspapers. How like Melbourne all this is!'

here, nor of my sending for you. Will your grace compel me to take back people who have treated me in this way?'[1] Melbourne had to be recalled only five months later; but Brougham was not reinstated in the lord chancellorship.

While Wellington was preparing to take office, with Peel as premier, his friends were busily arranging for 'The Times' to be the thoroughgoing champion of their policy. 'I asked the duke if he had seen "The Times" this morning?' Greville wrote on November 17. 'He said no, and I told him there appeared in it a considerable disposition to support the new government, and I thought it would be very desirable to obtain that support, if it could be done. He said that he was aware he had formerly too much neglected the press, but he did not think "The Times" could be influenced. I urged him to avail himself of any opportunity to try, and he seemed very well disposed to do so.' On the same day Greville gave similar advice to Lord Lyndhurst. 'He said he desired nothing so much, but in his situation he did not like personally to interfere, nor to place himself in their power. I told him I had some acquaintance with Barnes, the editor of the paper, and would find out what he was disposed to do, and would let him know, which he entreated me I would.'[2]

The negotiations that ensued lasted more than a fortnight, and tried the diplomatic skill of several busy politicians. 'In consequence of what passed between Lyndhurst and me concerning "The Times,"' Greville reported on November 19, 'I made Henry De Ros send for Barnes (who had already at his suggestion adopted a conciliatory and amiable tone towards the embryo government), who came and put on paper the terms on

[1] McCullagh Torrens, *Memoirs of Lord Melbourne*, vol. ii. p. 44.
[2] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. iii. pp. 149, 151.

which he would support the duke. These were, no mutilation of the Reform Bill, and the adoption of those measures of reform which had been already sanctioned by votes of the House of Commons last session with regard to church and corporations, and no change in our foreign policy. I have sent his note to Lyndhurst, and begged him to call here and talk the matter over.' 'Lyndhurst has just been here,' it was added later in the same day. 'He had seen the duke, who had already opened a negotiation with Barnes through Scarlett. I offered to get any statement inserted of the causes of the late break-up, and he will again see the duke and consider the propriety of inserting one. He said, "Why, Barnes is the most powerful man in the country." "The Standard" has sent to offer its support. The duke said he should be very happy; but they must understand that the government was not yet formed.' 'The Standard' might be played with, but not 'The Times.' 'This morning,' Greville wrote on November 23, 'I received a note from Henry De Ros, enclosing one from Barnes, who was evidently much nettled at not having received any specific answer to his note stating the terms on which he would support the duke. Henry was disconcerted also, and instructed me to have an explanation with Lyndhurst. I accordingly went to the Court of Exchequer, where he was sitting, and waited till he came out, when I gave him these notes to read. He took me away with him, and stopped at the Home Office to see the duke and talk with him on the subject; for he was evidently a little alarmed, so great and dangerous a potentate is the wielder of the thunders of the press.' Wellington promised to consult Peel, and on the following day communications were made to Barnes, with which he declared himself 'quite satisfied.' 'Barnes is to dine

with Lyndhurst,' it was noted on November 26, 'and a gastronomic ratification will wind up the treaty between these high contracting parties.' The new lord chancellor's zeal, however, seems to have outrun his discretion. 'The dinner that Lyndhurst gave to Barnes,' Greville recorded on December 5, 'has made a great uproar, as I thought it would. I never could understand the chancellor's making such a display of this connection; but, whatever he may be, he is a lawyer, and how great soever in his wig, I suspect that he is deficient in knowledge of the world, and those nice calculations of public taste and opinion which are only acquired by intuitive sagacity exercised in the daily communion of social life.' Yet all ended happily, for the time being. Our last note is dated December 6: 'Lyndhurst is doing all he can to draw closer the connection between "The Times" and the government, and communicates constantly with Barnes.' [1]

The Tory ministry that the Duke of Wellington patched up, with Sir Robert Peel as its head and Barnes as its mouthpiece, lasted barely more than three months, and, though the readers of 'The Times' were not informed of the curious arrangements that had been made for their instruction or beguiling, many of them shook their heads and chose other political guides even before the crisis came. '"The Times" has made a sad blunder,' Rintoul wrote in 'The Spectator,' 'in going over to the Tories. It has been playing for once a losing game, and we cannot say that it has played with its usual ability and spirit.' 'Never was there a more complete failure,' he added, referring to the administration of 1828-30, 'than the attempt of "The Times" to induce the public to believe that the duke's ministry would be a reform ministry,' and it had been losing

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, vol. iii. pp. 149, 151, 155, 158, 159, 169, 171.

ground ever since, erring in its languid support of the Grey administration, and yet more in its reckless attack on the Melbourne administration and its reckless defence of the Peel administration. 'It became decidedly more subservient as the cabinet grew more and more Orange; and it is now the rankest Conservative of all the journals. It adopts the old Tory theory of "saving the people from themselves," and is full of abuse and detraction of the men who have not changed in any particular from what they were when cheered on and lauded by "The Times." Within a few weeks, and while the whole country was staring at a change more extraordinary than any which the wooden sword of Harlequin has achieved this Christmas, "The Times," that boasts of leading three-fourths of the people of England in their opinions, has taken up and supported two opposite systems of politics. The effect of this remarkable tergiversation is evident in the leading articles of the paper. They are impudent without being energetic, and abusive but not vigorous.'[1]

There was some jealousy in those strictures, but they were true in the main. Although the articles in 'The Times' of George IV.'s and William IV.'s days are tedious reading now, they were evidently well suited to the taste of the majority of those to whom they were addressed, and for whom Rintoul's articles were too sedate and Fonblanque's too brilliant. The more important of them were written by Edward Sterling, who was still, as he had been for twenty years, the chief 'thunderer' of 'The Times.' 'An amazingly impetuous, hasty, explosive man, this Captain Whirlwind! —a remarkable man, and playing, especially in those years 1830–40, a remarkable part in the world,' said Thomas Carlyle, who knew him well, but attributed

[1] *Spectator*, January 3, 1835.

to him too much authority in directing the policy that he enforced. That policy was directed by Barnes, at the bidding of Walter, and only propounded in boisterous words by Sterling. Yet Carlyle's description or apology is interesting. 'The sudden changes of doctrine in "The Times," which failed not to excite loud censure and indignant amazement in those days,' he says, 'were first intelligible to you when you came to interpret them as his changes. These sudden whirls from east to west on his part, and total changes of party and articulate opinion at a day's warning, lay in the nature of the man, and could not be helped; products of his fiery impatience, of the combined impetuosity and limitation of an intellect which did nevertheless gravitate towards what was loyal, and true, and right on all manner of subjects. Thus, if he stormed along, ten thousand strong, in the time of the Reform Bill, indignantly denouncing Toryism and its obsolete, insane pretensions, and then if, after some experience of Whig management, he discerned that Wellington and Peel, by whatever name entitled, were the men to be depended on by England, there lay in all this, visible enough, a deeper consistency, far more important than the superficial one so much clamoured after by the vulgar.'[1] Sterling doubtless satisfied himself that the divers and diverse opinions he gave utterance to at various times were all sound at the moment of writing, and he may have not only thought them really his own, but also spiced them with his strong individuality; but we must accept as truthful the statement which he made, when put upon his honour, in reply to a charge brought against him as part editor of 'The Times,' by Roebuck. 'I never have been technically or morally connected in any manner with the editorship of "The

[1] Carlyle, *Life of John Sterling*, pp. 302–304.

Times,"' he wrote on June 27, 1835, 'not possessing over the course or choice of its politics any power or influence whatever, nor, by consequence, being responsible for its acts.'[1]

If Sterling as leader-writer, or Barnes as editor, or Walter as manager-in-chief, acted indiscreetly, and really injured 'The Times' in trying to serve it, by the violent support given to the luckless Tory administration of 1835, and if the business in which they were severally concerned was blameworthy, there is all the more reason for quoting a remarkable letter which Sir Robert Peel, on April 18, the very day on which his first premiership ended, addressed to the editor of 'The Times,' and which Barnes handed on to Sterling for his consolation. Its purport was honourable both to Peel and to his champions on 'The Times.' 'If I do not offer the expressions of personal gratitude,' he wrote, in acknowledging the 'powerful support' he had received, 'it is because I feel that such expressions would do injustice to the character of a support which was given exclusively on the highest and most independent grounds of public principle. I can say this with perfect truth, as I am addressing one whose person even is unknown to me, and who, during my tenure of power, studiously avoided every species of intercourse which could throw a suspicion upon the motives by which he was actuated. I should, however, be doing injustice to

[1] Note to *The Dorchester Labourers*, p. 16, in Roebuck's series of *Pamphlets for the People*. 'Some time since,' Roebuck had written, 'I was in the habit of meeting Mr. Sterling in society, and was not a little amused by the charlatan game he played to hide his editorship of *The Times*. If anyone had assumed the fact, he would have taken it as an affront. There was a painful resemblance between this man's position and that of a bravo spy in Venice. They both had a secret and irresistible power—the one slew you, the other merely ruined your reputation.'—*The Stamped Press of London, and its Morality*, p. 5, in Roebuck's *Pamphlets for the People*.

my own feelings if I were to retire from office without one word of acknowledgment, without at least assuring you of the admiration with which I witnessed during the arduous contest in which I was engaged, the daily exhibition of that extraordinary ability to which I was indebted for a support the more valuable because it was an impartial and discriminating support.' [1]

Peel, we may safely assume, was not in the mood to address similar language to the writers of 'The Times' seven or eight years later, when he was in office again, and at this time an object not of praise but of abuse. He was never, however, attacked with such coarseness as was applied in 1835 and 1836 to Daniel O'Connell. 'The Times' of November 26, 1835, contained these lines about the Irish liberator:

Scum condensed of Irish bog,
Ruffian, coward, demagogue,
Boundless liar, base detractor,
Nurse of murders, treason's factor!
Spout thy filth, diffuse thy slime,
Slander is in thee no crime.
Safe from challenge, safe from law,
Who can curb thy callous jaw?
Who would sue a convict liar?
On a poltroon who would fire?

Plenty of insult like that, in prose if not in verse, was hurled at O'Connell by 'The Times,' of which, for a long while, he took no notice. At length, in September 1836, O'Connell having unwisely hinted in parliament that he could, if he chose, disclose

[1] Carlyle, p. 306. Barnes seems to have been outrageously Tory in his opinions at this time. On January 7, Greville (*Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 188) received a letter from him, 'in which he speaks with horror and alarm of the prevailing spirit. He says the people are deaf with passion, and in the abrupt dissolution of the late government, and the bad composition of this, will see a conspiracy against their liberties, and, mad and preposterous as the idea is, there is no eradicating it from their brains.'

matters discreditable to the private character of Lord Lyndhurst, 'The Times' wrote thus: 'What an unredeemed and unredeemable scoundrel is this O'Connell to make such a threat, and at such a time too! If he has not lied more foully than it would have entered into the imagination of the devil himself to lie, he makes the threat with his own wife dying under his very eyes! O, how long shall such a wretch as this be tolerated among civilised men! But let him mark us well—as surely as he dares to invade the privacy of the life of Lord Lyndhurst, or of any other man, woman, or child that may happen by themselves or their relatives to be opposed to him in politics, so surely will we carry the war into his own domiciles at Darrynane and Dublin, and show up the whole brood of O'Connells, young and old.' That paragraph, illustrative of journalism at its worst—in the columns of a newspaper like 'The Times' at any rate—just before the reign of Queen Victoria began, provoked a rejoinder from O'Connell of which a part is worth quoting. 'It is an exquisite specimen,' he wrote, 'of that party to whose base passions you are the mercenary panderers. Of course it is not my purpose to bandy words with creatures so contemptible as you are. Your rascality is purely venal, and has no more of individual malignity in it than inevitably belongs to beings who sell their souls to literary assassination, and who from their nature would be actual assassins if they lived at the period of history when the wages of villains of that description bore a reasonable proportion to the hire you receive for a different, only because a bloodless atrocity.' Much more followed in neglect of O'Connell's proposal not to 'bandy words' with his traducers, and he concluded, 'I do not condescend one remark on the turpitude of the party to which "The Times" is now attached, and whose patronage it

earns by a political and personal meanness hitherto unknown in the history of British literature. You have made literary vileness a byword. It is really discreditable to Britain that it should be known that so much atrocity, so depraved, so unprincipled a vileness as "The Times" has exhibited, should have found any countenance or support.'[1] O'Connell's language is not to be justified, nor is that of 'The Times'; and this altercation is noteworthy as an incident in the centuries-long quarrel between English and Irish politicians which is not yet quite finished.

'The Times,' fortunately, did not profit by such violence, and the loss of influence and circulation incurred by its outrageous advocacy of Tory views at a time when the Whigs were unpopular because of their apathy about reform brought corresponding advantage to its chief rival, with the exception of 'The Standard,' among the daily papers. 'Now,' said John Black, of 'The Morning Chronicle,' 'our readers will follow me wherever I like to lead them.'[2]

Black did not like, however, or was not permitted to lead his readers very far. The 'Chronicle,' in which he had been able during more than a dozen years to propound nearly as much Radicalism as he chose, but which he had allowed to sink into somewhat humdrum ways, had fallen off considerably, and had only a daily sale of about 1,000 copies in 1834, when William Clement sold it for 16,500*l.*—scarcely more than a third as much as he had paid for it in 1821—to Sir John Easthope, a stockbroker, and two others who had smaller shares, Simon McGillivray, a retired merchant, and James Duncan, a publisher. Much fresh business

[1] R. Barry O'Brien, *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 512–514.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. v. p. 109.

enterprise was thrown into it, and in the course of five years its circulation was raised to about 6,000 ; but it was now converted into a Whig organ.[1] 'The Whigs set to work,' said Greville, 'and Hobhouse, Normanby, Poulett Thomson, Le Marchant, and several others wrote day after day a succession of good articles, which soon renovated the paper and set it on its legs.' The best articles, probably, were written by Albany Fonblanque, who was induced to furnish a column a week for fifteen guineas ;[2] but Fonblanque was crippled by the political restraints imposed upon him, and the paper, approved by the Whigs, lost favour with the Radicals. 'While we recognise the same want of vigour, compression, and method by which "The Chronicle" has for a long time been characterised,' Rintoul complained a few months after the change had been made, 'we miss the philosophy, the sagacity, and the curious reading which were wont to compensate for the defects of execution. There seems to be no unity of purpose, no presiding mind. Antagonistic principles, irreconcilable opinions, jostle each other on the same page.'[3]

Coarser blame of 'The Chronicle' was often uttered by others, as when 'The Times' spoke of its rival as 'a disgraceful morning print, which, made up of such contributions as the licentiousness and leisure of stock-jobbing may furnish, actually feeds on falsehood and lies so largely day by day that one might think that in its case "increase of appetite had grown by what it fed on."' On the very day on which that abuse of the 'Chronicle' was printed by 'The Times' (June 13,

[1] Charles Mackay, *Forty Years' Recollections*, vol. i. p. 71 ; *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. i. p. 179.

[2] Mackay, *Forty Years' Recollections*, vol. i. p. 82.

[3] *Spectator*, January 3, 1835.

1835), the 'Chronicle' declared that 'the poor old "Times," in its imbecile ravings, resembles those unfortunate wretches whose degraded prostitution is fast approaching neglect and disgust.' Such spiteful and vulgar language, however, was only a survival from the bad manners of a former day, and more common in papers like 'John Bull' than in those read by respectable people.[1]

Edward Sterling's denial that he had any power or responsibility as editor of 'The Times' was provoked by an intemperate and malicious pamphlet in which, in January 1835, Roebuck accused Black of 'The Chronicle,' and Fonblanque of 'The Examiner,' as well as Sterling, of propping up the stamp duty—an allegation which was quite untrue in Fonblanque's case—and of many other offences.[2] Sterling and Fonblanque contented themselves with stoutly contradicting the charges and calling for ample apology, which they received; but Black, whom Roebuck further attacked in other

[1] A few other samples may be given. *The Times*, on June 16, 1832, called *The Standard* 'a stupid and priggish print, which never by any chance deviates into candour'; and on August 22 in the same year *The Standard* talked of 'the filthy falsehood and base insinuation put forward by *The Times*.' *The Times* on one occasion described *The Chronicle* as 'that squirt of filthy water,' and *The Morning Post* was, in the judgment of *The Chronicle*, 'that slop-pail of corruption.' *The Courier* was, according to *The Morning Herald*, 'that spavined old hack'; and *The Globe* was, according to *The Standard*, 'our blubber-headed contemporary.' *The Age* of May 4, 1838, had two characteristic paragraphs: 'It is actually impossible to express the unmixed disgust with which we have read a series of beastly attacks upon his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland in that most filthy of all filthy papers, the old *Times*'; and 'Old Jerry Bentham's paper, *The Globe*, is, we perceive, in high dudgeon with us for calling Mr. Peel a rat. It adds that we have designated Lord Lyndhurst a rat also. To the first we answer, no one but such an old dotard as the author of "Chrestomathia" doubts it: and to the last, that it was not we, but *Cobbett*, Jerry's old friend the bone-grabber, who christened the lord chancellor Rat Copley.'

[2] Roebuck, *The Stamped Press of London, and its Morality.*

pamphlets, challenged his slanderer to a duel—perhaps the last instance among Englishmen, or rather Scotchmen, of resort to this mode of settling journalistic quarrels. The duel came off in November, when Black, with McGillivray as his second, went down to Christchurch, in Hampshire, and there twice exchanged shots with Roebuck; but neither party was hurt, and peace was concluded over a jorum of toddy.[1]

Black, though Barnes's senior by only two years, was an editor of an older school, and found it difficult to maintain the competition of 'The Chronicle' with 'The Times' with such fresh vigour as was required of him by Sir John Easthope. He acquitted himself well in it, however. With ampler funds at his disposal, he increased his staff of writers, besides making use of all the amateur and not always helpful help afforded him by the leading Whig politicians, both before and after Lord Melbourne's return to office.[2] Charles Buller and Lord Holland were frequent contributors, and occasional articles came from many others. Joseph Parkes, the parliamentary agent of the Whigs, was a constant visitor at Black's dingy office in the Strand. 'Every eminent man in the wide world of British and Irish

[1] Mackay, *Forty Years' Recollections*, vol. i. p. 90.

[2] 'I remember once, when assistant sub-editor of *The Morning Chronicle*,' says Dr. Charles Mackay (*Through the Long Day*, vol. i. p. 52), 'that I waited on the Duke of Sussex at the Hyde Park Hotel, where he was resident for a few days, with the proof of a leading article which he had either written or dictated. The duke was an earnest and consistent Whig, and had fallen into disfavour with his royal father and with George IV. I do not at this distance of time remember the subject of the royal article, except that it was in support of some Liberal measure, and that the style was crude and involved. I remember well that the proof was a rough one, and contained several grammatical as well as literal errors that required correction. I also remember that the duke detected the errors very readily, but that he was not able to correct them *secundum artem*, and that he had ultimately to ask me to show him how to make such technical marks as would be understood in the printing office.'

politics sought his aid,' we are told, 'and he kept the secrets entrusted to him with scrupulous fidelity.'[1] Paying special attention to foreign affairs, he appointed Michael Joseph Quin as foreign editor of the 'Chronicle,' and Eyre Evans Crowe was sent to France as its Paris correspondent. George Hogarth was sub-editor for some time until, on Hogarth's being made musical and theatrical editor, and also editor of 'The Evening Chronicle,' started in 1837, the post was filled in succession by John Payne Collier, James Fraser, and Charles Mackay—the latter being preferred to Thackeray, who wrote art criticisms and was a candidate for more constant employment.[2] Among the reporters were William Hazlitt the younger and Charles Dickens, whose father had for a long time been connected with the paper. Dickens, commencing his literary career as reporter for 'The True Sun,' and working during two years for 'The Mirror of Parliament,' went to 'The Chronicle' in 1835, when he was twenty-three, and soon became its most zealous agent in the reporting of country meetings and important occurrences. 'There never was anybody connected with newspapers who in the same space of time had so much express and post-chaise experience as I,' he wrote in the course of a lively account of his adventures, in rushing across country, writing his articles as he travelled, and often breaking down on the way, and being hard pushed to reach London in time to supply the printers with copy and to be rewarded 'with never-to-be-forgotten compliments by the late Mr. Black, coming in the broadest of Scotch from the broadest of hearts I ever knew.' Dickens fully earned his five guineas a week, and also the two guineas extra that were allowed to him for

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1855, p. 211.

[2] Mackay, *Through the Long Day*, vol. i. pp. 55, 56.

some of the 'Sketches by Boz,' of which two or three a week appeared in 'The Evening Chronicle' after 1837.[1]

Of Black and his contributors many anecdotes are told;[2] but the most memorable refers to an interview he had with Lord Melbourne while the Whigs were in office. 'Mr. Black,' said the premier, at the close of a long conversation on political affairs, 'you are the only person who comes to see me who forgets who I am. You forget that I am prime minister.' Black opened his eyes, coloured up, and was stammering out a question as to the way in which he had offended, when Melbourne proceeded, 'Everybody else takes special care to remember it, but I wish they would forget it, for they only remember it to ask for places and favours. Now, Mr. Black, you never ask me for anything, and I wish you would; for, seriously, I should be most happy to do anything in my power to serve you.' 'I am truly obliged to you,' answered Black, 'but I don't want anything. I am editor of "The Morning Chronicle;" I like my business, and I live happily on my income.' 'Then, by God, I envy you!' exclaimed the premier, 'and you are the only man I ever did.'[3]

Black's philosophy was put to the test in 1843,

[1] Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, vol. i. pp. 75, 76, 79, 84.

[2] See especially Dr. Mackay's *Forty Years' Recollections*, and *Through the Long Day*, and Grant's *Newspaper Press*. 'Black's rooms,' we are told (*Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1855, p. 211), 'were so encumbered with books, both on the walls and on the floor—the gleanings of some half a century—that it was difficult to walk through them. At one time the pair was obliged to creep into bed at the end, the bedsides being piled with dirty volumes of divinity and politics, and defying entrance in any other way; for it was one of the editor's peculiarities that he would not have his books moved or dusted by any hand but his own.' Mrs. Black was 'something like Meg Merrilies in person.' Black's dog, Cato, was nearly as great an object of interest and affection to his friends as the eccentric, but kind-hearted and high-minded, editor himself.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1855, p. 213. Some time before, when Melbourne was not allowed to make Sydney Smith a bishop, he had vowed that he would put Black into lawn before he died.

when he was summarily dismissed by Sir John Easthope, whose daughter had lately married Andrew Doyle, then foreign editor of 'The Morning Chronicle,' and who wanted the post for his son-in-law. By selling the enormous library he had collected, and in other ways, Black raised an annuity of 150*l.*, with which, at the age of sixty, he retired to a small house on the Thames that his old friend Walter Coulson assigned to him at a nominal rent, and there he died in 1855.[1]

Difficulties in the management of the paper had arisen as far back as March 1839. 'They are in a great rage and no small dismay at the same time,' Greville then wrote concerning the official Whigs, 'at the conduct of "The Morning Chronicle," which has turned half against them in a most extraordinary manner; that is, it is urging the Radicals to seize this opportunity of compelling the government to go their lengths, and to make such compliance the condition of their support. Government are so indignant that they want to break off with "The Chronicle" altogether, but then they will be left in the awkward predicament of having no morning paper whatever in their service. What nettles them the more is that they made "The Chronicle" what it is, and raised it by their exertions from the lowest ebb to its present very good circulation. Easthope makes a clear 10,000*l.* a year by the speculation; but now, seeing or thinking he sees greater advantages to be got by floating down the Radical stream than by

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1855, p. 213. 'I am deeply grieved about Black,' Dickens wrote to John Forster on May 3, 1843; 'sorry from my heart's core. If I could find him out I would go and comfort him this moment.' Some comfort was offered in the shape of a dinner at Greenwich, at which Black was the guest of Dickens, Thackeray, Fonblanque, Sheil, Charles Buller, Southwood Smith, W. J. Fox, Macready, Maclise, and Forster. (Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, vol. ii. pp. 31, 32.)

assisting in the defence of this government, he forgets past favours and connection, and is ready to abandon them to their fate. It is rather an ominous sign, and marks strongly their falling estimation. They think it is Durham who has got hold of Easthope and persuades him to take this course. He declares he is so beset with applications, advice, and threats, that he has no alternative, and must take the line he does or ruin the sale of his paper.'[1] If Easthope made the change from policy or under pressure, we may be quite sure that Black cheerfully agreed to it on the score of principle.

It was no easy matter to support the Whig administration during the six years following Sir Robert Peel's defeat in April 1835. The Whigs in the House of Commons, who really approved of Lord Melbourne's shilly-shallying, do-nothing policy were but half as numerous as the Tories, who, divided among themselves, united in opposing it; and the government had to steer its perilous course by constant tackings, in which it alternately used Tory help to thwart the Radicals, who were far stronger in this parliament than in any previous one, and the Liberals, as many Whig sympathisers with Radicalism now called themselves, and made such grudging concessions to the Radicals and Liberals as were necessary to secure their aid in keeping the Tories out of office. In this tedious and discreditable process the Radicals gained some things, including the reduction of the newspaper stamp duty in 1836, and several social reforms, such as the lessening of death penalties and other improvements in the administration of justice, the suppression of the slave trade, and the establishment of the penny post; and it was for the sake of reforms like these that independent Radicals, among whom Albany Fonblanque was foremost in journalism, gave qualified

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. i. p. 179.

support to the Melbourne administration. But the line taken by Fonblanque in 'The Examiner' could not be taken, or could only be taken cautiously and spasmodically, by Black and his writers in 'The Morning Chronicle,' so long as it professed to be a ministerial organ. The advantages accruing to 'The Chronicle' as a semi-official journal were of doubtful value, and, standing alone among the morning papers, its embarrassments were to some extent shared by its friendly rivals in the evening press.

Of these there were now five, three of them being very ably conducted on different liberal levels. 'The Globe,' still in the hands of Colonel Robert Torrens, took precedence as the recognised channel for ministerial communications, especially favoured by Lord John Russell. 'The Sun,' being under no restraint, and with Murdo Young for its enterprising conductor, was bolder in its politics. Yet bolder was 'The True Sun,' which, like 'The Sun,' had ceased to be a mouthpiece of Toryism, and was at this time owned by Daniel Whittle Harvey, and edited by William Johnson Fox, who was also one of the writers for 'The Morning Chronicle.' 'The Evening Chronicle' was shortlived; and 'The Courier,' though now claiming to be Liberal, was of too uncertain politics and of too small circulation to be of any account.

The Tories had 'The Standard' as their only and sufficient champion among the evening papers. Its success, under Giffard's editorship, along with the much greater success of 'The Times,' rendered insignificant the two other Tory papers, 'The Morning Herald' and 'The Morning Post.' The kindest thing that a Tory critic could say about 'The Post' in 1836 was that it was 'the pet of the petticoats, the darling of the boudoir, the oracle of the drawing-room, and the soft recorder of ball-

room beauties and drawing-room presentations.' 'The high favour in which "The Post" stands in the bowers of ladyhood,' it was added, 'is well deserved by that journal. In all matters interesting to the female world of fashion this paper has always the best information, which it employs in a discreet manner, imparting just as much of private affairs as the public ought to know, and no more.' According to the same informant, 'The Herald' was to be commended for 'the variety of its matter and the moderation of its tone,' being, with its Tory leanings, a more ardent supporter of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy than even 'The Chronicle,' hampered as it was by Whig traditions, could be.[1]

More interesting than the commonplace history of these papers is the record of a new and unfortunate experiment in journalism which was made in 1836. Foreseeing the opportunities for fresh newspaper enterprise that would result from the reduction of the stamp duty, but not estimating the expenses necessary to such a venture, Dr. Black, a friend of Sir William Molesworth, and others, established the Metropolitan Newspaper Company, with a capital of 60,000*l.*, of which 42,000*l.* in all was called up, and, having bought or borrowed the connection of 'The Public Ledger,' merged it in 'The Constitutional,' which was started on September 15, the first day on which penny stamps were allowed to be used. Offering as much matter for fourpence halfpenny as had formerly been supplied for sevenpence, the new journal fairly claimed to be 'the firstfruit of the penny stamp, the eldest born of the reduction.' Its projectors professed no gratitude, however, for such facilities as were afforded them by the change in the law. 'We must frankly declare, although we may be censured for the admission,' it was said in the preliminary

[1] *Fraser's Magazine*, May 1836, p. 623.

article, 'that we do not feel any natural affection, the least filial reverence, for this our Whig parent. We thank him for our existence, and will serve him while we must; but our love and sympathy belong to another. Abolition is the spirit whom we serve.' The reduction of the newspaper stamp from fourpence to a penny was accepted, not as a boon, but as the imposition of a new tyranny after the old tyranny had become too intolerable to be longer maintained. 'Knowledge must, for the present, go on bearing the badge of Ignorance in the form of a penny, and Liberty, as let out by the Whigs, must be content to dance in fetters for a season. Hope must wear the livery of Fear, and the new order of things adopt, in a mitigated form, the symbol of the old.' [1]

It will be seen from those statements and metaphors that the originators of 'The Constitutional' were uncompromising Radicals, or, as they said, 'reformers in the fullest meaning of the term.' '"The Constitutional,"' they announced, among other things, 'will advocate the shortening of the duration of parliaments, an extension of the suffrage, and the vote by ballot. To the beneficial influence of these measures, were they now in operation, it is difficult to assign a limit. It would diffuse itself, as if by a magical movement, even over the House of Peers. Obstruction would see at once the impossibility of holding out. To secure quietly a reform of the Lords it is only necessary to administer a little more to the Commons.' [2]

These enthusiasts were too sanguine, both in their general speculations and in the conduct of their own heroic little enterprise. They made a brave commencement, however. They appointed as editor Samuel Laman Blanchard, a smart and versatile writer, who

[1] *Constitutional*, September 15, 1836. [2] *Ibid.*

had had four years' experience in the management of 'The True Sun,' and Blanchard's great friend, Douglas Jerrold, was theatrical critic.[1] Thornton Hunt, Leigh Hunt's son, was sub-editor,[2] and great pains were taken to secure lively and accurate intelligence from abroad as well as from Ireland and various parts of England. 'The Constitutional' had its 'own correspondent' in Spain, whose letters were signed M. R. M., and it established a special express from France in opposition to the organisation already existing and jointly paid for by the five other morning papers, whose proprietors, for economical reasons, ignored their differences in this particular, but jealously excluded the interloper from their syndicate.[3] The correspondent sent by 'The Constitutional' to Paris was William Makepeace Thackeray, now a young man of five-and-twenty, who here had his first important employment in journalism, though he had already been an occasional contributor to 'The Morning Chronicle' and other papers.[4] Thackeray's letters, signed T. T.—of which there were generally three or four a week, and forty-four in all before the end of February, when, doubtless to save expense, he was brought home and made foreign editor—were written with remarkable vigour and keen apprehension of the political conditions of the time. For instance, writing on December 26, he said, 'You will complain that my letters have only this one theme of Louis Philippe; but recollect that the government in this country is the king. If it had not been for the

[1] *Poetical Works of Laman Blanchard* (introductory memoir by Blanchard Jerrold), p. 13.

[2] Knight Hunt, vol. ii. p. 188. [3] *Constitutional*, July 1, 1837.

[4] A writer in the *Athenæum* (February 12, 1887) alleges—I do not know on what authority—that it was his venture in *The Constitutional* that 'impoverished the youthful Thackeray' and obliged him to follow journalism for a living. Thackeray's stepfather, Major Carmichael Smyth, was the chairman of the company.

king, you would have had Spain tranquil; you would not have had M. Guizot or the laws of September; and now, please God, there is a chance of ridding the country of both one and the other.' 'Without Louis Philippe,' he added, 'the revolution would have spread through the world. It is one of this man's boasts and titles to glory—he is proud of the cunning apostacy which has cheated the nation out of the ends proposed by it in placing him on the throne, which has so dammed and twisted the great current of public opinion as to leave that a shallow and muddy stream which was to have flowed, not through France merely, but through Europe.'[1]

'The Constitutional' was as outspoken in its discussion of home as of foreign affairs. Though it scrupulously avoided all coarseness of language, and set an example in polite controversy which 'The Times' or 'The Chronicle' might have followed with advantage, it found as much fault with its Whig as with its Tory contemporaries. '"The Globe" is a Whig paper,' it said in one of its articles, 'which "The Constitutional" is not.'[2] It expressed its policy in ridicule as well as in argument, in rhyme as well as in prose. In a string of verses entitled 'The Two Criminals,' for example, it made fun of the indiscriminate way in which Daniel O'Connell and Joseph Hume were held responsible for all the blunders and misfortunes of the time:

> While English laws exclude the many
> From all the social rights of man,
> While votes shall be withheld from any,
> The blame must fall on Joe and Dan:
> If Tory tricksters make Lord John ill,
> It is the fault of that O'Connell:
> If Whigs for ever fret and fume,
> It is the fault of Joseph Hume.[3]

[1] *Constitutional*, January 2, 1837. [2] *Ibid.*, November 5, 1836.
[3] *Ibid.*, November 17, 1836.

But the promoters of 'The Constitutional' soon found that its impartial condemnation of both Whigs and Tories was not agreeable to any large body of readers, or that they had not money enough to keep it alive till it could force its way into public favour. At the close of 1836 they published a list of influential supporters who had promised to pay a twelvemonth's subscriptions in advance, and the list included the names of George Grote, Sir William Molesworth, Joseph Hume, Charles Buller, Roebuck, William Ewart, Perronet Thompson, Benjamin Hall, and Richard Potter. In February 1837 they increased the size of the paper, and raised its price from fourpence-halfpenny to the usual fivepence; but early in June they returned to the original size without altering the price. On June 22 they put the paper into mourning on the occasion of William IV.'s death, and they continued the mourning till July 1, when, in No. 249, they bade farewell to their readers. 'The mourning border which we recently put on,' it was then grimly said, 'was but the shadow of the coming event.' 'The Constitutional' disappeared, and 'The Public Ledger' was revived by its former proprietor, to be carried on on its old lines as a medium for shipping and other mercantile intelligence. Laman Blanchard then became editor of 'The Courier,' until, on its being converted into a Tory journal, he was employed by Fonblanque on 'The Examiner.' [1]

Radicalism was not strong enough at this time to support a daily paper, especially in the face of such formidable competition as was offered by 'The Times,' in which a far ampler supply of news than any other paper could afford to collect and issue atoned, in the opinion of many readers, for whatever faults they might

[1] *Poetical Works of Laman Blanchard*, p. 15.

find in its political views; and the Radicals had now a good choice of weekly papers on which could be spent as much money as most of them had to spare. 'The Examiner' and 'The Spectator' satisfied the more intelligent readers, and, among others adapted to less fastidious tastes, 'The Weekly Dispatch' took the lead.

For some time after its commencement in 1801, and styled 'Bell's Weekly Dispatch' until it passed out of its founder's hands, 'The Dispatch' had no very pronounced politics, and catered chiefly for the lovers of highly-spiced news, reports of prize-fights and such matters. But it was a Radical paper before it became the property of Alderman James Harmer, and under his control it was a vigorous advocate of reform. Harmer was a remarkable man. The son of a Spitalfields weaver, and an orphan at the age of ten, he worked his way so successfully that in 1833, before he was sixty, he was able to retire from a solicitor's business, which had for some time been yielding him about 4,000*l.* a year. When he died, in 1853, his estate was valued at more than 300,000*l.*[1] Most of that wealth had been derived from 'The Dispatch,' which he had managed with great skill from a commercial point of view, and in which the weekly article signed Publicola, written by various hands, and for some time by William Johnson Fox, was famous for its scathing denunciation of political, legal, and social abuses. Before the reduction of the stamp duty, which, with a short-sighted view to the interests of the proprietor, it stoutly opposed, 'The Dispatch' claimed to have a circulation of thirty thousand, at the high price of eightpence-halfpenny; and when most of the papers reduced their price from sevenpence to fivepence, it continued to flourish as a sixpenny paper, selling, it was said, sixty

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1853, pp. 201, 202.

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thousand copies a week in 1840. One among many tokens of its popularity was the imitation of its title, not only by Hetherington in his unstamped 'Twopenny Dispatch' in 1834, but also by the proprietors of 'The New Weekly Dispatch,' which was started in 1833. The latter ran for no more than seventy weeks, however, and the former was suppressed by the more rigid enforcement of the law after the lessening of the stamp duty in 1836. Alderman Harmer's paper continued to prosper, and prospered all the more in consequence of the frequent attacks that were made upon it and him.

Those attacks were especially violent in the autumn of 1840. Elected alderman of Farringdon Without in 1833, and having served as sheriff in 1834, Harmer expected to be made lord mayor in his turn at Michaelmas 1840; but the scandal, as they said it would be, was averted by his Tory opponents, who had a mighty champion in 'The Times.'

The crusade was begun on September 21, when 'The Times' published an elaborate protest against Harmer's election, signed by several liverymen of the city of London, who quoted against him a number of Radical utterances that had appeared in 'The Dispatch.' 'The paper,' they declared, 'can only be appropriately described as a public nuisance, and that of the most fearful character.' They complained that it assailed not merely Whig government and Tory government, 'but all government whatever, ridiculing alike all systems and all views, and plainly counselling anarchy and confusion'; that it had 'personally insulted the sovereign and her consort,' had 'broadly and repeatedly recommended the overthrow of the monarchy,' and had 'extolled and encouraged every instance of rebellion'; and, worst of all, that, not content with opposing the Established Church or encouraging dissent, it 'scoffed at all kinds

and forms of religion whatever,' and 'constantly and deliberately reviled the Christian faith and its professors of every class and denomination, and gave the preference to infidels and blasphemers of every description.'[1] These complaints 'The Times' endorsed in a furious article published on the same day as the liverymen's protest. 'The object is not merely to reject Alderman Harmer,' 'The Times' avowed. 'It is far higher and more important than this; it is to stamp with the blackest possible mark of public reprobation the principles of "The Dispatch" in the person of its chief and responsible proprietor.' The battle was fiercely fought. Nearly every day between September 22 and October 7 'The Times' published a column of argument and abuse, and when, as the result of the poll taken among the citizens, it was found that Harmer had obtained only 2,294 votes against 2,713 given for the alderman next in rotation, the prose song of triumph, issued on October 9, extended over more than two columns. 'The Times' took credit for having saved London from the appalling disgrace of having Harmer for lord mayor; but it had provided 'The Weekly Dispatch'

[1] Here are a few of the more obnoxious sentences quoted by these shocked liverymen:—'Protestantism, Catholicism, Methodism, or any other *ism*, is only a cant term to facilitate the impositions upon the mind, which impositions are always tricks to arrive at the breeches' pockets' (*Weekly Dispatch*, September 1, 1839).—'Socialism and Chartism are only the misdirected efforts to throw off the dreadfully intolerable curse of superstitious systems' (February 2, 1840).—'There is no more moral depravity in being an infidel than in being a clergyman. . . . Blasphemy is a word of no meaning whatever. It is a cunning coinage of priestcraft' (March 15, 1840). And, on the occasion of the government's proposal to make provision for Prince Albert, 'A young girl of eighteen governs about four-and-twenty millions of people at home, and about a hundred millions in the colonies and India. For this task the young lady takes 871,400*l.* per annum, and when she marries she pleads poverty, and calls upon her people, who are in a great state of distress, to support her husband by a further allowance out of the taxes' (February 2, 1840).

with a splendid advertisement, and had only damaged its own reputation among all who were not bigoted Tories.

Though in the main a consistent advocate of Tory views at this time, and giving them more powerful help than they obtained from the combined or rival assistance of all the other and avowedly Tory papers, 'The Times' continued to be independent when it chose. 'The question of absorbing interest is now,' Greville wrote, on January 24, 1839, 'the repeal or alteration of the corn laws, and the declaration of war against them on the part of "The Times" has produced a great effect, and is taken as conclusive evidence that they cannot be maintained, from the rare sagacity with which this journal watches the turn of public affairs. Besides that, its advocacy will be of the greatest use in advancing the cause which it already had perceived was likely to prevail. The rest of the Conservative press, "The Morning Herald," "Post," and "Standard," support the corn laws, and the latter has engaged in a single combat with "The Times," conducted with a kind of chivalrous courtesy, owing to the concurrence of their general politics, very unusual in newspaper warfare, and with great ability on both sides.'[1] The attitude taken up by 'The Times' on the question of corn-law reform was only one among many instances of its prescience and skill in shrewdly directing both ministers and the people in ways that, rightly or wrongly, it approved. In such clever journalism as Barnes achieved it was by no means easy to distinguish between leading and following, between the drivers and the driven.

A curious instance of the use that politicians had now come to make of the press occurred early in 1839.

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. i. p. 158.

Lord Durham had just handed in to the government his momentous report on the administration of Canada, chiefly prepared by Charles Buller, which was to revolutionise the whole colonial policy of the British empire; but it contained two paragraphs respecting church or crown lands to which the government objected, and which Durham consented to alter. These paragraphs had been inserted at the instigation of Gibbon Wakefield, who was determined that they should not be tampered with. He accordingly sent to Barnes a copy of the original report, before it or any new edition of it could be laid before parliament, and the whole lengthy document was printed in 'The Times' of February 10. Lord Durham's indignation thereat was great but futile. The original document had been published, and could not therefore be modified with decency. 'The Times' had, moreover, given another proof of its importance, and had forestalled the ministerial organ, 'The Morning Chronicle,' in its procuring of official information. Lord Durham, Greville tells us, had handed a copy of his report to Sir John Easthope, 'but with an injunction not to publish it; and Easthope told him he wished he had kept his copy to himself, for he could have obtained one elsewhere which he should have been at liberty to publish if he had not accepted his with the prohibition.'[1]

The Melbourne administration, more impotent than ever during the two years after it obtained a new lease of feeble life in consequence of the queen's quarrel with Sir Robert Peel over the 'bedchamber question,' was further weakened by dissensions in the cabinet throughout 1840, which were chiefly due to Lord Palmerston's adoption, as secretary of state for foreign affairs, of a different course from that approved by most of his colleagues. The English bearings of the

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. i. p. 163, and note

policy of Louis Philippe's government and the Syrian question were the special grounds of dispute, in which the newspapers took sides. Peel and most of the Tories agreed with the orthodox Whigs in favouring Thiers, Guizot, and their party, and 'The Times' shared their views. 'The Morning Chronicle,' on the other hand, was a zealous supporter of Palmerston, and gave great offence to Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, and others by its plain speaking. Greville reports on October 1 that Lord John had written a letter to Guizot, then ambassador in London, in which 'he begged he would not consider that the articles which had lately appeared in "The Morning Chronicle" and "Observer" were approved of by the government, and repudiated any connection or concurrence with them; he had pronounced in the cabinet a violent philippic against the newspapers, which was entirely directed at Palmerston, who he knows very well writes constantly in them.' 'An article appeared in "The Times,"' Greville adds, 'strongly in favour of peace and harmony with France, and the acceptance of the Egyptian pasha's offers. Guizot, of course, was delighted with it.' And next day we read, '"The Morning Chronicle" puts forth an article having every appearance of being written by Palmerston himself (as I have no doubt it was), most violent, declamatory, and insulting to France. I made the Duke of Bedford go to Lord John and tell him this ought not to be endured, and that, if I were he, I would not sit for one hour in the cabinet with a man who could agree to take a certain line (with his colleagues) overnight, and publish a furious attack upon the same the next morning. Lord John said he had already written to Melbourne about it, that Palmerston had positively denied having anything to do with "The Morning Chronicle," and he did not see what more he

could do; but he owned that all his confidence in him was gone.'[1] This is amusing, yet instructive withal, and not solely as a scrap of newspaper history.

The writer of the troublesome articles was not Lord Palmerston, but Eyre Evans Crowe, who, for some time Paris correspondent of 'The Morning Chronicle,' had now come back to London to write leaders for it on foreign policy, and in opposition both to the temporising Whigs and to Peel's friends in the 'Times' office. The line taken up by 'The Chronicle,' however, was evidently sanctioned, if not dictated, by Palmerston,[2] who never forgave 'The Times' for opposing him. 'Melbourne told Clarendon,' Greville wrote in January 1841, 'that Palmerston was still very sore at the articles which had appeared in "The Times." Clarendon said he could not imagine what Palmerston had to complain of in "The Times," as, though there had been some articles attacking him, the far greater number had been in his favour. Melbourne said there had been a great deal the other way, and that Palmerston and his Tory friends with whom he had communicated had been constantly surprised to find that there was an influence stronger than their own in that quarter.'[3]

Though it supported the Russellites, who in this respect were in some agreement with the Peelites, against the Palmerstonians, 'The Times,' all through the seven years of Lord Melbourne's premiership, and with variation from its usual practice, sided with the party out of office, and its Toryism was as consistent as

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. i. pp. 323, 324, 326.

[2] 'Sir John Easthope,' says Dr. Mackay (*Through the Long Day*, vol. i. p. 268) 'was particularly noted for his all but slavish worship of Lord Palmerston. His devotion to that chief was ultimately rewarded by a baronetcy.'

[3] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. i. p. 362.

Sterling and other writers under Barnes's editorship could make it. On other than party politics, however, and on all questions that were not directly concerned in the support of the Tory views at that time in the ascendant, Barnes allowed great freedom to his contributors, and, so long as they did work he liked, accepted and invited contributions from men of all parties. Though Moore was still the chief writer of the verse for which room was often found in 'The Times,' other poets or rhymers were admitted to its columns, Macaulay being of the number.[1]

A more frequent contributor was Thackeray, who appears to have undertaken the reviewing of books under Barnes, for about a year at any rate, almost immediately after the failure of 'The Constitutional,' as well as some ten years later. 'I turned off far better things then than I do now,' he said when he had become famous, 'and I wanted money sadly; but how little I got for my work! It makes me laugh at what "The Times" pays me now when I think of the old days, and how much better I wrote for them then, and got a shilling where I now get ten.'[2] One of his earliest articles, and perhaps the first, appearing on August 3, 1837, was a long review of Carlyle's 'French Revolution.' Others were on 'The Duchess of Marlborough's Private Correspondence,' on 'A Diary Illustrative of the Times of George IV.,'[3] on 'Memoirs

[1] Russell, *Memoirs &c. of Thomas Moore*, vol. vi. p. 213.

[2] J. T. Field's *Yesterdays with Authors*, p. 27.

[3] This was the book that Thackeray, in *The Yellowplush Papers*, denounced in *Fraser's Magazine*. As Thackeray elsewhere spoke plainly but honestly about George IV. and his court, these sentences from the article in *The Times* are interesting: 'We never met with a book more pernicious or more mean. . . . It does worse than chronicle the small beer of a court; the materials of this book are infinitely more base; the loud tittle-tattle of the sweepers of the Princess of Wales's bedchamber or dressing-

of Holt, the Irish Rebel,' and, besides much else, on 'The Poetical Works of Dr. Southey, collected by himself,' the latter being published on April 17, 1838.[1] After that date no other contribution of Thackeray's during this period can be traced, except an article on Fielding, which he wrote in 1840. '"The Times" gave me five guineas,' he said in 1850. 'I recollect I thought it rather shabby pay.'[2]

Another of the large number of writers who helped to increase the interest and consequently the circulation of 'The Times,' was Benjamin Disraeli, who made his first known appearance among journalists as an indignant controversialist with 'The Globe,' which in 1835 had called attention to his change from Radicalism to Toryism. Disraeli defended himself in 'The Times,' and followed this with the Runnymede letters[3] which, in feeble imitation of Junius, he wrote in the early months of 1836.

The 'Times' now furnished a constant succession of letters from outsiders, and miscellaneous articles, including a much greater amount and variety of foreign

room, her table or ante-room, the reminiscences of industrious eavesdropping, the careful records of her unguarded moments, and the publication of her confidential correspondence, are the chief foundations for this choice work. . . . There is no need now to be loyal to your prince. Take his bounty while living, share his purse and his table, gain his confidence, learn his secrets, flatter him, cringe to him, vow to him an unbounded fidelity, and, when he is dead, *write a diary and betray him!*'

[1] *The Athenæum*, July 30, 1887.

[2] 'My wife was just sickening at that moment,' he said in the same letter, to Mrs. Brookfield. 'I wrote it at Margate, where I had taken her, and used to walk out three miles to a little bowling-green, and write there in an arbour—coming home and wondering what was the melancholy oppressing the poor little woman. How queer it is to be carried back all of a sudden to that time, and all that belonged to it, and read this article over! Doesn't the apology for Fielding read like an apology for somebody else too?'—*A Collection of Letters by W. M. Thackeray* (1887), p. 125.

[3] T. P. O'Connor, *Benjamin Disraeli; a Biography*, pp. 214–254.

correspondence than any other paper could procure or find room for. The page was not quite so large as it afterwards became, but 'The Times' regularly appeared as a sheet of eight pages, whereas all the other journals, except on rare occasions, were still limited to four; and if the chief credit for the enterprise thus shown devolves on Walter, as the principal proprietor and business manager, it must be remembered that Barnes was responsible for filling what was for those days a journal of enormous size with readable matter. 'The Times' was vastly improved as a newspaper, in the sense of a collector and retailer of information, during the twenty-four years of Barnes's direction of it, and whatever might be thought of its political honesty or political wisdom, it had in his time, and largely through his influence, acquired such authority as an instructor and controller of public opinion, especially with the well-to-do portion of the community, which considered itself, and was in large measure, the 'governing class,' as no previous editor could have dreamt of. Barnes was the precursor of Delane.

He died in harness, and almost without warning, when he was only fifty-six, on May 7, 1841, four weeks before the defeat of the Melbourne administration which led to Sir Robert Peel's return to office. 'His death,' Greville wrote next day, 'is an incalculable loss to "The Times," in whose affairs his talents, good sense, and numerous connections gave him a preponderating influence. The vast power exercised by "The Times" renders this a most important event, and it will be curious to see in what hands the regulating and directing power will hereafter be placed. Latterly, it must be owned that its apparent caprices and inconsistency have deprived it of all right and title, and much of its power, to influence the opinions of others;

but that has been the consequence of the extraordinary variety of its connections, and the conflicting opinions which have been alternately, and sometimes almost if not quite simultaneously, permitted to discharge themselves in its columns.' [1]

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 2. Greville adds: 'Barnes was a man of considerable acquirements, a good scholar, and well versed in English, especially old dramatic literature.' At dinner Greville found him (vol. i. p. 123) 'an agreeable man enough, with evidently a vast deal of information, but his conversation bears no marks of that extraordinary vigour and pungency for which the articles in *The Times* are so distinguished.' In 1827 Sterling had told Moore that Barnes was 'the best good man with the worst-natured tongue'; he 'never heard him speak of anyone otherwise than depreciatingly, but the next moment after abusing a man he would go any lengths to serve him.'—Moore's *Diary*, vol. v. p. 171.

CHAPTER XVII.

WITH A PENNY STAMP.

1836—1850.

On the lowering of the stamp duty from fourpence—or rather, as a discount of twenty per cent. had been allowed, from threepence and a fifth of a penny—to a penny, which took place on September 15, 1836, the price of most newspapers was reduced from sevenpence, till then the usual charge, to fivepence, but for several, especially the weekly papers, a reduction of only a penny was made, and in nearly all cases the proprietors gained more than the readers by the change. They were gainers also, and to a yet larger extent, by the lowering of the tax on advertisements from three shillings and sixpence to eighteenpence, which had come into force in 1833, as the reductions they were thus able to make in their charges, without risk or expense, led to a great deal more advertising and a corresponding increase of income. A large proportion of that income, it is true, was at once used by the more intelligent and enterprising proprietors in improving their establishments, extending their arrangements for procuring local, provincial, and foreign news, and in other ways meeting the growing demands of their readers for newspapers at least as much better in every way than those issued twenty or thirty years before as these earlier ones had been superior to the newspapers of the previous century. There was no lack of well-directed energy in this respect

on the part of 'The Times' and of the other journals which it had surpassed in wealth and influence, and which were now compelled, unless they were willing to be altogether outstripped, to compete with it more vigorously than ever; and the public benefited considerably. There was too much disposition among the successful newspaper managers, however, to profit inordinately by the fiscal reform, and to labour at upholding and extending their monopoly with a narrow-minded zeal which did not comport in all instances with their own interests or with those of the public. During the nineteen years of a compulsory penny stamp, preeminently successful managers like John Walter made more money than they could have hoped for under the old system, and newspaper properties on the whole were much increased in value; but there were many failures, and people who could ill afford to pay for their newspapers fivepence a day, or even sixpence a week, had some reason for complaining that they were not quite honestly catered for.

The complaints were freely uttered, and addressed especially to the government which had refused to make a clean sweep of the stamp duty, by the producers and the readers of such cheap papers as 'The Poor Man's Guardian,' in which Hetherington had bravely fought the battle for complete liberty of the press. 'The Poor Man's Guardian' had been succeeded by 'The Twopenny Dispatch' before the change of 1836, and this and other papers had flourished for a time; but the greater stringency with which the new law was enforced crippled and soon crushed them, and it was a very real hardship to the masses who had learnt to look for the twopenny papers, and who felt there was no good reason why they should not have penny papers, that they were deprived of their weekly reading except when they

contrived to get it by help of law-breaking. The anger thus provoked was shown in resentment of what were considered other acts of tyranny besides the imposition of the penny stamp, which, it was reckoned, generally cost nearly twopence in the case of papers with small circulation, seeing that they had to bear the expense of getting the paper stamped, and loss of the money laid out on all copies stamped but not sold. 'Reader,' said Feargus O'Connor, in the first number of 'The Northern Star,' which was issued from Leeds on November 18, 1837, 'behold that little red spot in the corner of my newspaper. That is the stamp; the Whig *beauty* spot; your *plague* spot. Look at it: I am entitled to it upon the performance of certain conditions. I was ready to comply, and yet, will you believe that the little spot you see has cost me nearly eighty pounds in money, together with much anxiety, and nearly one thousand miles of night and day travelling? Of this they shall hear more, but for the present suffice it to say there it is; it is my licence to teach.'

'The Northern Star,' soon transferred from Leeds to London, was during more than ten years the chief newspaper advocate of the Chartist movement, edited for some time by Julian Harney, and contributed to by Ernest Jones and other violent agitators, and it carried on in rowdy style a quarrel with the government, whether Whig or Tory, which would hardly have arisen or would have meant very little, if the authorities had not courted defiance. The 'teachings' of Feargus O'Connor and his associates and rivals may have been offensive and pernicious; but they were only dangerous, if they were really that, in so far as they received encouragement from the follies of mischievous rulers. Chartism, Socialism, and the other heresies that the comfortable and conventional classes resented and

desired to put down, were promoted, instead of being restrained, by the penny newspaper stamp and the wrath it stirred up.

The history of this rebellious journalism, fitful in its progress, of erratic politics, and of no literary merit, is interesting and instructive, but it does not call for detailed notice here: nor is more than passing reference necessary to the swarm of other serials issued after as well as before the appointment of the penny stamp, in forms designed either to evade the law or, without violating it, to achieve the objects aimed at. A taste for periodical reading had arisen and was growing rapidly, and while this was partly met by increase in the numbers and improvement in the quality of regular newspapers and dignified magazines, it also led to an ample supply of other publications, cheaper and coarser, and therefore more accessible and perhaps acceptable, to vast numbers of readers. Some, like 'The Poor Man's Friend,' a sequel to 'The Poor Man's Guardian,' and, like it, published by Hetherington, 'The London Dispatch' and 'The London Mercury' and 'The Moral Reformer' in which Joseph Livesey preached temperance, were penny weeklies with serious, if misguided, political intent, but not newspapers within the scope of the Stamp Act; others also handled politics as well as social affairs with a pretence of humour, like 'The Penny Age,' 'The Star of Venus, or The Show-up Chronicle,' 'The Penny Satirist,' and two twopenny but not more respectable miscellanies of scandal, 'The Town' and 'The Fly'; and others, still purporting to expose political and social abuses, were chiefly collections of fiction, like 'Cleave's Penny Gazette of Varieties.'[1] These, and such as these, competed

[1] A scathing article on some of these and other weeklies, entitled *Half-a-Crownsworth of Cheap Knowledge*, which appeared anonymously in *Fraser's Magazine* for March 1838, has been identified as Thackeray's

with 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,' 'The Penny Magazine,' 'Leigh Hunt's London Journal,' a short-lived but admirable publication, and other magazines, as well as with the regular newspapers, and, untouched by either the old or the new Stamp Acts, were only indirectly encouraged by the change in the law; but they were part of the development in periodical literature now in progress, and some, being reprehensible in themselves, were pioneers of much that was healthy.

The rise of comic journalism is noteworthy. Humorous verse and prose had been combined, on occasion, with the serious news or comments in most of the daily and weekly papers from the commencement of the nineteenth century, and in earlier days, as when Charles Lamb included poems and jokes in his 'fashionable intelligence' for 'The Morning Post,' and when Thomas Moore contributed his squibs in rhyme to 'The Morning Chronicle,' after the fashion set by Canning and his friends in 'The Anti-Jacobin,' and competing with Theodore Hook, Barham, and others in 'John Bull'; but independent comic journalism was somewhat of a novelty in 1831, when, on December 10, Gilbert Abbot a'Beckett and Henry Mayhew commenced 'Figaro in London.' As many as four other humorous

(*Athenæum*, March 19, 1887). A kindlier critic, Mr. Thomas Frost, says of *Cleave's Gazette* (in *Forty Years' Recollections*, p. 83): 'A roughly executed political caricature on the first page, and some vigorous writing on the rights and wrongs of the people, recommended the paper to the working men of the metropolis and the large towns of the manufacturing districts, and there was an ample provision of fiction and anecdote for the mental regalement of their wives and the rising generation. *The Penny Satirist* differed from Cleave's paper only in containing a larger quantity of political matter, and in reflecting, in that portion of its contents, the views of the Anti-Corn-Law League, rather than those of the National Charter Association. It was said, indeed, that it was subsidised by the League, the coarse woodcuts which embellished the front of the paper, and which were graphic arguments for the repeal of the imposts on food, being paid for by the funds of that body.'

papers were started within the next six months: 'Punch in London,' under Douglas Jerrold's editorship, on January 14, 1832; 'Punchinello; or, Sharps, Naturals, and Flats,' with illustrations by George Cruikshank, on January 20; 'The Devil in London,' afterwards called 'Asmodeus; or the Devil in London,' and finally 'Asmodeus in London,' on February 29, and 'The Schoolmaster at Home,' on June 9; and these were followed by 'Dibdin's Penny Trumpet' on October 20, and by the 'Whig Dresser' on January 5, 1833.[1] 'Figaro in London,' however, alone took the public fancy. Giving in four small quarto pages for a penny, as it announced, 'good-humoured squibs on passing events of primary popular interest,' along with witty 'brevities' and funny paragraphs, and with a column or two of theatrical criticism as its most solid item, it had at first only one caricature, repeated on the front page of every number, though before long other pictures—two or three each week—were introduced. The jokes were generally feeble, and sometimes very coarse; but they were amusing, and the publication lasted till August 10, 1839, Henry Mayhew being at that time the editor, and perhaps the only writer.

Its plan was revived, with great improvements, in 'Punch; or the London Charivari,' the first number of which appeared on July 17, 1841, under the editorship of Mark Lemon, with Henry Mayhew as his assistant, and Douglas Jerrold and other old venturers in comic journalism as contributors. Ebenezer Landells, William Newman, and Archibald Henning supplied the illustrations, and from the commencement there was an abundant supply of racy wit in the twelve pages, for which, no stamp being required, threepence was

[1] These six lasted severally only seventeen, ten, thirty-seven, six, four, and twelve weeks.

charged.[1] 'Punch' was an unprofitable speculation for some time; but it began to thrive when it became the property of Bradbury and Evans, under whom Mark Lemon continued to edit it, helped by a staff of brilliant contributors which soon included Gilbert a'Beckett, Thackeray, Stirling Coyne, Watts Phillips, William Henry Wills, Thomas Hood, and Horace and Augustus Mayhew, and with Leech and Tenniel among its illustrators. Its rise in popularity dates from December 16, 1843, when 'The Song of the Shirt' appeared in it and trebled its sale. This poem had been forwarded to Lemon with a letter from Hood, saying that it had been rejected by three editors, and asking that, if not now used, it might be thrown into the waste-paper basket, as the author was 'sick of the sight of it.' Some of Lemon's colleagues objected to its publication in 'Punch' on the ground that there was no fun in its humour, but Lemon liked it; and this clever editor, assisted by so many clever writers and artists, was soon able to draw a salary of 1,500*l.* a year, instead of the thirty shillings a week with which he started.[2]

Mark Lemon had a hand in the commencement of another and a yet more successful enterprise. Herbert

[1] Besides other illustrations, the first number had a large cartoon, 'Candidates under different Phases,' &c. &c.; one of its jokes, somewhat ponderous, but indicative of its political intent, was 'A Synopsis of Voting, arranged according to the Categories of *Cant*,' crowding a whole page. Its main divisions were as follows:—'I. He that hath not a vote and voteth. II. He that hath a vote and voteth not. III. He that hath a vote and voteth,' the last being thus subdivided:—(A) intentionally; (1) corruptly, that is, either (*a*) bribed directly with money, place, or drink, or (*b*) bribed indirectly, or (*c*) intimidated, or (*d*) voluntarily corrupt; (2) conscientiously, in accordance either (*a*) with humbug—political, moral, or domestic, or (*b*) with principle—hereditary, conventional, or philosophical; (B) accidentally, through either (*a*) blunders of himself, or (*b*) blunders of others.

[2] *The True Story of Punch* was told at length, and for the most part accurately, by Mr. Joseph Hatton in eleven numbers of *London Society* in 1875.

Ingram, at first a compositor, was a newsagent in Nottingham, where his experience of the great increase in sale consequent on the appearance, now and then, of rough wood-cuts in 'The Morning Chronicle' and other journals, inclined him to believe that a regularly illustrated newspaper would prosper. He is said to have been nearly twelve years cogitating the project and endeavouring to raise the necessary capital, and in the meanwhile the popularity acquired by several humbler undertakings, both the early comic papers and such cheap publications as the 'Police Gazettes' that were plentiful, favoured his view. At length, on May 14, 1842, in conjunction with Nathaniel Cooke, who had married his sister, and William Little, whose sister he had married, and with Lemon as his chief adviser, he produced the first number of 'The Illustrated London News,' which gave, in sixteen three-column folio pages, along with the usual news, about twelve small pictures, besides humorous sketches and drawings of costumes. The illustrations, far in advance of anything that had yet been attempted, though for the most part very poor work in comparison with subsequent achievements, were the special attractions of Ingram's venture; but it aimed at much else. 'We shall be less deeply political than earnestly domestic,' it was announced in the second number. 'Our business will not be with the strife of party, but with what attacks or ensures the home life of the empire; with the household gods of the English people, and, above all, of the English poor; with the comforts, the enjoyments, the affections, and the liberties, that form the link of that beautiful chain which should be fashioned at one end of the cottage, at the other of the palace, and be electric with the happiness that is carried into both.' 'Three essential elements of discussion with us,' it was added, 'will be

the poor laws, the factory laws, and the working of the mining system in those districts of our soil which nature has caverned with her treasures, and cruelty disfigures with its crime.'

Under its first editor, known, because of his wealth in baptismal names, as 'Alphabet' Bailey, 'The Illustrated London News' was somewhat pompously and clumsily written. Among its contributors, however, were Mark Lemon, Stirling Coyne, and Henry, Horace, and Augustus Mayhew, who combined social teaching with grotesqueness of phrase, while Howard Staunton soon made it an authority on chess, and the antiquarian and topographical concerns proper to a pictorial paper were zealously looked after by John Timbs, its sub-editor. It had, moreover, a competent staff of artists, who made a name for themselves as well as for the journal by their good work, in John Gilbert, William Hervey, Kenny Meadows, Birket Foster, 'Alfred Crowquill,' John Leech, and others.[1]

The opposition that Ingram met with in one direction had memorable results. Prominent among the followers of Hetherington and other producers of cheap literature, before and after the reduction of the stamp duty, was Edward Lloyd, born in 1815, who was a bookseller, and a publisher as well, and even an author, before he was twenty years old. 'Lloyd's Stenography, or an easy and compendious System of Shorthand,' a sixpenny pamphlet, appeared in 1833, and it was followed by a succession of tales, issued in penny numbers, some of them being imitations of 'Pickwick,' 'Oliver Twist,' and other popular novels.[2] Tales were

[1] Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press; its Origin and Progress*, pp. 284–296.

[2] On the first appearance of Lloyd's *Pickwick*, Dickens threatened to obtain an injunction restraining its publication. He soon admitted, however, that it was a good advertisement of his own work.

also given, along with scraps of information, notices of books and plays, and miscellaneous gossip, in 'The Penny Sunday Times,' a large four-page sheet, adorned with rough illustrations of exciting occurrences, which Lloyd issued, and this publication, which was as much like a newspaper as it ventured to be without coming under the Stamp Act, was so successful that in 1842 two other weeklies, 'Lloyd's Penny Atlas' and 'Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany of Romance and General Interest,' which did not attempt to be newspapers, were started from the same establishment.[1] More important was 'Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper,' also commenced in 1842, with the object of competing with 'The Illustrated London News'—for which sixpence was charged—by a much cheaper publication, providing a certain amount of news, but in such a form as, it was hoped, would render a penny stamp unnecessary.

The first number of 'Lloyd's Illustrated,' giving eight folio pages, with three columns in a page, and a few small woodcuts, and sold for twopence, appeared on November 27; and the publication was continued for seven weeks. Then, however, the authorities interfered, and Lloyd was informed that he must either suppress his paper, or issue it as a stamped newspaper, the special item of important information which he was condemned for publishing without a stamp being a report of the escape of a lion from its cage. The result of this arbi-

[1] 'The "march of intellect," as it was called,' says Mr. Thomas Frost (*Forty Years' Recollections*, p. 85), who did much of this work in his youth, 'had not then advanced far enough to suggest the possibility, since realised, of its being a remunerative undertaking to engage authors of high literary repute to write for penny publications; but, as in all cases, the existence of a demand creates a supply, authors were soon found who were very willing to write any number of novels and romances for the *honorarium* offered by Mr. Lloyd, that is, ten shillings per weekly instalment of the story.' *The London Journal*, very different from *Leigh Hunt's London Journal* of 1834, was commenced soon after this date.

trary proceeding was a prompt reshaping of the journal. 'Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper,' called No. 8, but the first of the fresh series, appeared on January 15, 1843, as an eight-page paper, with five columns on the page, but without illustrations, for which twopence-halfpenny was charged. On September 24 the price was raised to threepence, but, at the same time, the size was increased from eight to twelve pages. 'Lloyd's' was now a cheaper paper than before, and much cheaper than any stamped newspaper that had preceded it.

A rival soon entered the field. The first number of 'The News of the World,' giving in eight larger pages about as much matter as 'Lloyd's' contained, and also sold for threepence, was published on October 1, 1843. 'Journalism for the rich man and journalism for the poor,' it was said, not quite accurately or grammatically, in the opening article of this new paper, 'have up to this time been as broadly and distinctly marked as the manners, the dress, and the habitations of the rich are from the customs, the squalor, and the dens of the poor. The paper for the wealthy classes is high-priced; it is paid for by them, and it helps to lull them in the security of their prejudices. The paper for the poorer classes is, on the other hand, low-priced, and it is paid for by them; it feels bound to pander to their passions. Truth, when it offends a prejudice and shows the evil of passion, is frequently excluded from both. The first is often as remarkable for its talent, for its early intelligence, as the other, we regret to say, is for the absence of talent and the staleness of its news.' Promising to emulate all the virtues and to avoid all the vices of other papers, 'The News of the World' hardly kept its word. Its Radicalism was more violent than that of 'Lloyd's,' and it was more freely supplied with offensive news; but it pleased many readers, and in the course

of twelve years it attained a circulation of nearly 110,000, being some two or three thousand ahead of 'Lloyd's.'

More dignified, in its earlier stage, than either of those threepenny papers was another, 'The Weekly Times,' which was started on January 24, 1847, and the temper of which was fairly expressed in an article in the first number, temperately criticising the queen's speech with which parliament had just been opened, and contrasting it with the recent American presidential address. 'Last year,' it was said, 'Queen Victoria intimated briefly the freedom of trade in corn, and this year the queen indicates a commencement of free trade in land. For ourselves, we must confess that in these announcements we see a superiority, both in matter and in manner, to the message of President Polk, in which he ponderously bullies Mexico, harangues on theories of government like a professor, quibbles like a lawyer about repudiation, and flatters his constituents as if he were on the hustings. Of course the superstition of royalty is gone by. Loyal spirits of old deemed the monarch the representative of the Divinity. Nowadays kings and presidents are more justly regarded as the representatives of the nation and the people. If this notion of them be more true, it is also, therefore, more august. To our ancestors the notion of Jove, instead of sitting on Olympus and deciding the fate of nations with a nod, becoming a lecturer on mythological philosophy was not more preposterous than the spectacle of a king delivering a farrago, on the theory of government, of dialectical subtleties and rhetorical declamations.' Somewhat smaller than 'Lloyd's,' 'The Weekly Times' mixed with its epitome of news a larger proportion of original writing, claiming in its title to be 'a London newspaper of history, politics, literature, science, and art'; and, with the common pseudonym of Littlejohn, a

succession of able writers supplied a weekly article of less extreme Radicalism than the Publicola article in 'The Weekly Dispatch.'

'Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper,' then sold for fourpence, and of ruder politics than any of the threepenny Sunday journals that preceded it, was commenced on May 5, 1850, and five years later it had a circulation of nearly 50,000, that of 'The Weekly Times' being at the same date about 75,000, while the circulation of 'The Weekly Dispatch' was only 38,000. In 1843, when 'Lloyd's,' then the only cheap Sunday newspaper and but three months old, issued 32,000 copies a week, at twopence halfpenny, 'The Weekly Dispatch' sold upwards of 61,000 at sixpence. Of 'The Illustrated London News,' on the other hand, which in 1855 reached a circulation of nearly 110,000, the circulation in 1843, when it was only a year old, was 25,000. Among the other leading weekly papers sold at sixpence, the average sale of 'The Sunday Times'—which had been started in the autumn of 1822 by Daniel Whittle Harvey as a more Radical journal than 'The Dispatch' had by that time come to be, but which, in other hands, was, like 'Bell's Life,' more of a sporting than a political paper—was 20,000 in 1843; that of 'Bell's Weekly Messenger,' a steady-going Tory organ, paying special regard to the interests of farmers, was 16,000; that of 'The Weekly Chronicle,' an enterprising journal which had but short life, was less than 16,000; and 'The Examiner' had only a weekly sale of 6,000, though this was nearly four times as great as the weekly sale of 'The Spectator.'

Those figures help to show how great was the change coincident with, and partly consequent upon, the cheapening of newspapers by the reduction of the stamp. 'The Examiner,' which had never had a circulation at all proportionate to its great influence, was still read by

middle-class Radicals and others on account of Fonblanque's brilliant and pungent writing, but it had lost credit through its too loyal support of the Whig policy of Lord Melbourne and his successors, who were at variance among themselves; and 'The Spectator,' always more pedagogic, and only professing to address itself to a select audience, was now much occupied in riding unpopular hobbies, of which the advocacy of Gibbon Wakefield's colonisation schemes, deplorably illustrated in the Canterbury settlement in New Zealand, was perhaps the principal. Neither of these papers satisfied the great body of Radicals, for whom stronger fare was offered by the sixpenny 'Weekly Dispatch' and the threepenny 'Lloyd's,' while readers who cared most for amusement were well satisfied with 'The Illustrated,' in which, besides pictures and light essays, special attention was paid to many social abuses. 'The Dispatch,' to the assistance of which William Johnson Fox had by this time brought his vigorous pen, writing as Publicola, was, however, until the cheaper papers had outstripped it, the great and acknowledged exponent of social abuses and champion of political reforms among Radicals who, insisting upon sweeping changes and agreeing in some respects with the extreme party, declined to call themselves Chartists.

The Chartist movement, never so strong as it was supposed to be, had violent support from many of the unstamped publications of the day, and was taken at its worth in the more intelligent of the regular weekly journals; but by many others it was almost ignored, and such mention as was made of it by the daily papers was generally in the way of excessive denunciation prompted by quite unnecessary alarm. On all the grievances that gave unhealthy life to Chartism, the defects of poor law administration, the miseries of

factory life, the capitalist tyranny against which trades unionism revolted, the despotism of the Established Church, the perversion of the inadequate Reform Act of 1832, and much else, and above all on the widespread and steadily increasing disasters consequent on the corn laws, the Radical weeklies commented boldly and persistently, and none with more energy or better effect on public opinion than 'The Weekly Dispatch.'

One important branch of journalism was almost begun in these years. There had been newspapers especially interested in religious questions long before 'The World' was started in 1826 as the organ of the congregational dissenters, and the work undertaken by 'The World' was less temperately carried on for some time by 'The Patriot'; while 'The Record,' established in 1828, was a formidable exponent of the views of the 'evangelical' section of the Church of England. Among other papers of this class, representing diverse views, moreover, 'The Watchman,' started in 1835 as the representative of the Wesleyan body, held a respectable place. Soon after the reduction of the newspaper stamp to a penny, however, and as one of the popular movements that accompanied it, a new era began in religious periodical literature, which was now and henceforth much more polemic in its style and purport.

The first number of 'The Tablet' was published on May 16, 1840, under the editorship of Frederick Lucas, a talented and amiable young barrister who had left the Society of Friends to become a devout and broad-minded Roman Catholic. Lucas's 'brief confession of political faith,' uttered in that first number, was an interesting document, illustrative of more than his own fine temper of heart and mind, and of more than the position then taken up by the most enlightened portion of the body to which he had attached himself, and which he

served as a lay apostle. 'Legislative reforms and enactments in any higher sphere than that of police,' he declared, 'are very necessary to remove obstructions, and very powerless to effect much positive good.' 'His comparatively low estimate of the good that can flow from them,' he promised, 'will not dispose him to be seized with vehement, undiscriminating, and unfounded admiration of the measures of his political friends, nor vehement, undiscriminating, and unfounded hostility to those of political opponents.' 'We believe,' he added, 'there is very little difference between Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel in the desire to maintain the present, or very nearly the present, mixture of aristocracy and democracy; the present mode of exercising the prerogative of the crown, the present mode of administering and amending the laws; and, in short, the present distribution of political, legislative, and administrative power. Both of them are desirous to maintain the Anglican establishment in a certain degree of pre-eminence over the Catholic Church and the sects which the establishment has brought forth. On many points we should agree with both; but we should give our support to the party to whose exertions the triumph of the principles of toleration and justice is owing, rather than to the party on whose acceptance they have been forced.'

Therefore Lucas preferred the party of Lord John Russell to the party of Sir Robert Peel. Many members of the latter party, he said, could not be considered sane. 'Their opinions are a strange medley of truth and falsehood, of sense and nonsense, of maxims borrowed with little judgment from other times and other systems than their own, and therefore harmonising neither with those times nor with their own systems. Fanatical without religion, unbending in their

purposes but unscrupulous in their means, and capable of waiving their principles for a time in order to secure their ultimate more sure triumph ; ruthless, meddling, rash, heedless, and impatient ; they have in England made hateful the designation of ultra-Tory, and in Ireland have consigned to eternal infamy the name of Orangeman.' 'On the subject of Ireland,' he went on to say, 'it is difficult to speak with moderation. We are no repealers ; but we look upon the cry for repeal to be the most natural for the inhabitants of a country which has been governed with such fatal disregard of all the plainest rules of justice and prudence.' 'Absenteeism and the strengthening of the hands of the Orangemen of the north by aid of their brother bigots in England, he averred, had brought about a grievous state of things, which afforded much excuse for the repeal cry ; 'but we think that no impartial person who considers the change which late years have introduced into the character of our Irish legislation, the immense stride that has been made from the more than Orange barbarities—if that be conceivable—of the last century, to the mild and moderate injustice of the present day, can hesitate in believing that the troubled waters will work themselves pure, that patience (Heaven knows the Irish have been patient hitherto), moderation, and firmness will suffice for the accomplishment of what remains, without giving up the country to the horrors of civil war—the inevitable result of any serious attempt to obtain the repeal of the Union.'

In that spirit, speaking gently when he thought gentleness was honest, and speaking fiercely when he thought fierceness was right, and aided by a number of English and Irish Catholics of dispositions like his own, Lucas instructed his fellow-religionists and offered battle to his foes. He had to educate the Catholicism

of his day, and to fight, not merely for removal of the small persecutions it was exposed to in England, but for redress of the grievous social and political wrongs endured by its followers in Ireland. He did both with a strange blending of meekness and firmness, of grace and fiery zeal; and he achieved much, and with none the less effect because some of his associates objected so strongly to his tactics that, leaving them to carry on 'The Tablet,' he started 'The True Tablet' on February 26, 1842, and continued the rivalry till the opposition collapsed, and 'The Tablet,' reverting to him, was brought out in an enlarged form on January 1, 1843.[1]

In curious contrast to 'The Tablet,' yet resembling it in some respects, was 'The Nonconformist,' commenced on April 14, 1841, with Edward Miall for editor, as an indignant protest both against the hardships to which dissenters were exposed as regards the payment of church rates and other impositions, and against the cowardice of many of the victims themselves. 'Dissenters as a body,' Miall wrote in his first number, 'have uniformly acted as though they were ashamed of their great leading principle, and secretly distrustful of its efficacy; and they have wasted their efforts in a series of petty skirmishes, which have served only to win for them more comfortable quarters, without bringing them a whit nearer to the attainment of their ultimate object. Before dissenters can hope to make way, they must make the basis of their operations national rather than sectarian, must aim not so much to right themselves as to right Christianity.' 'The primary object of "The Nonconformist,"' he explained, 'is to show that a national establishment of religion is vicious in its constitution, philosophically, politically, and religiously; to bring under public notice the

[1] Edward Lucas, *Life of Frederick Lucas*, vol. i. pp. 74-80.

innumerable evils of which it is the parent; to arouse men, and more especially those who, avowedly and on religious grounds, repudiate it, from the fatal apathy with which they regard its continuance and extension; to ply them with every motive which ought to prevail upon them to come forward and combine and act for an equitable and peaceful severance of church and state. This is the great design of the projectors of this paper. They have no other object, pecuniary or party, to serve.' 'As regards general politics,' he added, 'we ask nothing more from the state than *protection*, extending to the life and liberty, the peace and prosperity of the governed; and to secure this to all classes of subjects we advocate a fair and full representation to all.'

But that demand involved much. Objecting as strongly as did Lucas to Tory domination, Miall had no liking for the Whig administration that was breaking up when 'The Nonconformist' appeared. 'Will our ministers and representatives,' he exclaimed, 'never see till too late that a silent people is not necessarily a consenting people or an indifferent people, that often when most quiet they only bide their time? An increasing expenditure and a declining revenue, hunger for bread among the masses, Ireland on the verge of rebellion, and foreign affairs in derangement, popular discontent, commercial embarrassment, intestine party divisions, anti-poor-law pledges that were never meant to be redeemed, furious Protestantism that cannot be soothed into subordination, a frowning court, a discontented people! The question is no longer one of party. With more than half our population it is one of life or death.'

'The Nonconformist' can hardly be ranked among religious papers. It gave more space than its contemporaries to matters specially interesting to members of

the dissenting body to which Miall belonged; but it was always and pre-eminently a political journal, making its chief business the discussion of ecclesiastical questions, of faults in the State Church machinery, and of hardships endured by those who held aloof from it, and dealing freely with all other concerns of the hour, domestic and foreign, from its editor's Radical standpoint; and it did good service in its own way. To it, and to Miall's work upon it during nearly forty years, the nonconformists and the public at large owe much.

A year after 'The Nonconformist,' on July 9, 1842, 'The Inquirer' was started as the organ of the Unitarian body, and in January 1843 'The English Churchman' undertook to support the cause of the High Church party, in opposition to the 'evangelicalism' of 'The Record.' 'The Guardian,' a much more enterprising and comprehensive newspaper for Church of England readers, and with William Ewart Gladstone as one of its founders, was not commenced till 1846.

Other papers whose appearance must be noted as part of the great extension of journalism in these years were 'The Era,' which was commenced in 1838 as a champion of publicans' interests, but which soon devoted itself more particularly to theatrical matters; 'The Britannia,' a Conservative paper, which, however, had Thackeray for one of its contributors, dating from 1839; 'The Builder,' dating from 1842; 'The Farmer,' dating from 1843; and 'The Economist,' in which, also in 1843, James Wilson began to propound safe views on financial questions and their social and political bearings. The services rendered by 'The Economist' in its earlier years in calling for a repeal of the corn laws, and in advocating free trade in general, secured for it an influence of which good use was made in opposing the railway mania that soon followed.

The effects of railway enterprise upon newspaper history are remarkable, the accumulation of journals devoted to its real or spurious interests during the craze that reached its height in 1846 being but a passing phase. 'Herapath's Railway Journal,' at first only a monthly magazine, was started in 1835, when railways were in their infancy, and 'The Railway Times' followed in 1837. For some while these two sufficed as channels of information to investors and others concerned in the progress of the new method of travelling which was inaugurated in 1825. But when public apathy and alarm were succeeded by excessive enthusiasm and reckless speculation, more than two dozen railway journals contrived to reap a short harvest by the change.

In 1845 there were two short-lived daily papers, 'The Iron Times,' which was published every morning, and 'The Railway Director,' published every afternoon; one paper, 'The Steam Times,' appearing on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; seven which were issued twice a week, and nineteen others which were issued once a week. Of these only 'The Railway Record,' commenced in 1844, and the two of older date survived the crash of 1846; but till then most of them, and nearly all the other papers as well, profited greatly, not only by the general demand for news, but yet more by the profusion of advertisements incident to the mania. The parliamentary rule requiring that announcements of all new schemes for which the sanction of the House of Commons was to be asked during the forthcoming session should be made before December 1, produced such a rush of advertisements for 'The London Gazette,' that during November 1845 it was found necessary to publish a monstrous edition of that official sheet every day, and on one memorable day, the

15th of the month, its printed matter extended to 583 pages.[1]

The reckless speculation in railways thus curiously illustrated was soon brought to a check, but legitimate railway enterprise continued and increased, to the immense advantage of the community, and of journalism, as one of the concomitants of its progress. The much greater rapidity and certainty with which news could be conveyed to the various printing presses in London and the provinces, and also with which newspapers could be sent to distant places, enabled proprietors and all the writers and others employed by them to render to the public far more efficient service than had before been possible ; and these improvements were as profitable to the producers as to those for whom they catered. Newspapers had their full share in the general commercial and industrial advance for which the middle third of the nineteenth century was in every way remarkable, and to which the partial adoption of free trade principles, especially signalised by the abolition of the corn duties, and the mechanical developments attendant on the establishment of railways, alike conduced. By the growth of trade and manufactures, and the vastly increased prosperity of provincial towns and local centres, benefiting nearly all classes of society, though in unequal proportions, new facilities and new fields for journalistic work were obtained.

The provincial papers, even in such busy centres as Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham, were still only published once a week, but they were now much larger, much better supplied with both local and general information, and much better written, than formerly. Nearly all the abler and more enterprising country journalists became local reporters and correspondents for the London

[1] Andrews, vol. ii. pp. 267-269.

papers, and this arrangement, rendered much easier by the railway system, worked well for all parties. Of meetings and important occurrences in remote districts prompt intelligence was forwarded by train to London at far less expense than in the days when men like Dickens had to be sent down to describe them, posting to and fro on horseback or in carriages ; and the country agents who in this way earned money and gained experience used their knowledge and position in improving the provincial journals with which they were connected. In the smaller towns uncultured printers or booksellers often continued to do all the editing and writing deemed necessary for the clumsy and sparsely circulated news-sheets issued by them. Even among these, however, a healthy spirit of competition began to show itself, and the worthy rivalry among the more important and influential country papers rapidly and steadily enhanced the influence and importance of all. From the earliest times clever journalists, schooled in the provinces, had occasionally migrated to London, there to acquire more dignity and authority than had been possible to them at home, and there had been a similar migration of unlucky or eccentric journalists from London to the country towns; but these movements became much more numerous under the change brought about by the reduction of the stamp duty in 1836, and as part of the revolution that was then inaugurated.

An early incident of that revolution was the formal establishment in May 1837 of the Provincial Newspaper Society, projected a year before, with John Matthew Gutch, of 'Felix Farley's Bristol Journal,' Edward Baines, of 'The Leeds Mercury,' and John Blackwell, of 'The Newcastle Courant,' among its founders. 'The objects of this society,' it was announced, 'are to promote the general interests of the

provincial press, and to maintain the respectability of a body which may, without vanity, be said to occupy a very important place in the community. It disclaims all political or exclusive views, the best proof of which is to be found in the names of its members and the widely differing age, standing, and political character of their several publications. It disclaims, also, all desire of dictating to the proprietors of the provincial journals in any matter relating to the management of their respective concerns, but is founded on the belief that the interchange of information or opinions on subjects of general interest may be useful to the proprietors at large.'[1] The society did varied and always useful work in protecting and promoting the interests and advancing the welfare of country journalism, and in agitating for the removal of all remaining fiscal restraints on the liberty of the press, and for further reform in the libel laws and other hindrances to newspaper progress; and it has been of immense service to the journalism of London as well as of the provinces. When it started there were only about two hundred country newspapers, with an aggregate circulation of barely more than 400,000 a week. Twenty years later both the number and the circulation were at least thrice as great, though even then hardly any attempt had been made to publish a daily paper out of London.

The railways and other improved means of communication were at first especially beneficial to the London daily papers, as they were thus enabled to obtain information much more cheaply and expeditiously, and

[1] Whorlow, *The Provincial Newspaper Society*, 1836–1886; *a Jubilee Retrospect*, p. 29. Much interesting information about the progress of country journalism, which is of necessity barely touched upon in this work, is given in Mr. Whorlow's memoir. See also *Then and Now, or Fifty Years of Newspaper Work*, by Mr. William Hunt, and Mr. Thomas Frost's *Reminiscences of a Country Journalist*.

with much more variety and accuracy, than in former times. The old and very costly system of special expresses was gradually superseded as easier lines of conveyance were opened up, and, in anticipation of similar advantages in obtaining news from abroad, and of the yet greater advantages to result from the introduction of the electric telegraph, the enterprise hitherto mainly limited to England and the countries nearest to it was employed further afield.

Memorable illustration of this occurred in 1845. Soon after the establishment of peace between France and England in 1815, the leading London papers began to have regular correspondents in the foreign centres of information, and especially in Paris, from whom they received by each day's post, such particular news as could be obtained and was likely to interest their readers in addition to any extracts made from the continental journals ; and as the arrangements of the General Post Office, before Rowland Hill's day, were far from trustworthy, an independent service of couriers on both sides of the channel, and of swift cutters to cross it, was organised by John Walter of 'The Times,' by means of which important news often reached Printing House Square some hours before it was known even in Downing Street. Walter's enterprise, so increasing the popularity of 'The Times' that the heavy expense was more than met by the augmented circulation, was before long emulated by the other newspaper proprietors, and first by Edward Baldwin of 'The Morning Herald,' who established a rival service of expresses which was continued for a long while after 'The Times,' to avoid further competition and lessen the outlay, had admitted 'The Morning Chronicle' and 'The Morning Post' to participation in the elaborate machinery of news-conveyance it had constructed. Thus matters continued and

progressed after 1827, when Lieutenant Waghorn's opening of the overland route to India rendered possible and necessary an extension of the machinery in order to procure prompt intelligence from the far east. During many years the courier of 'The Times,' and of the other papers that to this extent it recognised as allies, awaited the arrival of each mail-boat from Suez at Marseilles, and as soon as he had received his parcel of letters and papers, hurried across France to send it on without delay from Paris to London. 'The Times,' however, made itself obnoxious to Louis Philippe's government by some of its strictures on French policy in 1845, and the result was a series of petty persecutions and meddlings eminently characteristic of Guizot's notion of statesmanship. 'The Times' courier was detained in Paris on account of the alleged informality of his passport and other pretexts, and thus his despatches were prevented from reaching London until after the more regular mail bags had been delivered. Walter accordingly made fresh arrangements.

When the Indian packet vessel called at Suez on October 19, it was met by a messenger who claimed the consignment to 'The Times' office, rode with it on a swift dromedary to Alexandria, where Waghorn, not loth to join in this extension of his smart policy, was waiting in an Austrian steamer to convey the parcel to a port near Trieste. Thence it was carried with all speed and by the shortest route to Ostend, and from Ostend by special steamer to Dover, and by special train to London. It reached 'The Times' office early enough for the principal portion of its contents to be printed in 'The Times' of October 31, and sent off to Paris, where the news was read, to the amazement and chagrin of Guizot and his colleagues, before the rest of the Indian mail had passed through the city. In the hope

of defeating 'The Times,' the French government placed special trains and steamers at the disposal of 'The Morning Herald' for conveyance of its November parcel from India, and it was so far successful that on this occasion the 'Herald' was two days ahead of 'The Times' in the publication of the next batch of eastern news. Walter was not to be baffled, however, and the Austrian government came to his help in what was now a most exciting international contest. He was also favoured by a succession of violent storms in the Mediterranean which hindered the Marseilles boat while the Trieste boat was quietly steaming up the Adriatic, and 'The Times' forestalled 'The Morning Herald' by nearly a fortnight with its December budget. The struggle was maintained for some time longer, and not abandoned until, the Marseilles route being found to be cheaper and, as a rule, safer and quicker than the Trieste route, and the French government having seen the folly of meddling with the arrangements of a man like Walter, all obstacles were removed and the old plan was reverted to with such improvements as this brisk struggle had suggested.[1]

That episode gives striking evidence of the vigour with which newspaper enterprise was now carried on. It had fresh development by help of other mechanical and scientific contrivances, among them being the introduction of the electric telegraph, of which early, if not the earliest, newspaper use was made by 'The Morning Chronicle' in May 1845, when it received a message from Portsmouth along the wires then recently laid by the London and South-Western Railway Company.[2] In November 1847 the queen's speech at the opening of parliament was for the first time

[1] Knight Hunt, vol. ii. pp. 205–208; Andrews, vol. ii. pp. 261–263.
[2] William Hunt, *Then and Now*, p. 110.

telegraphed to various parts of the country; and advantage was promptly taken of the first cable laid between France and England, in August 1850. For a long time, however, this wonderful agency for obtaining and circulating news was too costly and too partial in its range to be generally employed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE RISE OF 'THE DAILY NEWS.'

1844—1854.

CHARLES DICKENS, who had done much work for 'The Morning Chronicle' as a descriptive reporter during the later years of John Black's editorship, had begun to find sufficient and more agreeable occupation as a successful novelist before Black was superseded by Andrew Doyle. In March 1844, however, he contributed to 'The Chronicle' a few sketchy articles which caused some stir, and for which the new editor rather grudgingly paid the ten guineas apiece that he asked, and, as he was then planning a visit to Italy, he offered to send thence, as he said, 'a letter a week under any signature I chose, with such scraps of descriptions and impressions as suggested themselves to my mind.' To Dickens's great annoyance, this offer was declined on the score of expense, and the result was a conference between him, his friend and literary adviser, John Forster, and his publishers, Bradbury and Evans, at which the idea of starting a new journal in opposition to 'The Chronicle' was first broached. The project, in abeyance while he was abroad and for some time afterwards, was revived in the autumn of 1845, and, contrary to the advice of Forster, who knew better than Dickens his friend's unfitness for the plodding duties of a newspaper editor, it took shape in 'The Daily News.'[1]

[1] Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, vol. ii. pp. 81, 82, 189, 191.

The first number appeared on Wednesday, January 21, 1846, that date being fixed upon in order that the start might immediately precede the opening of the parliamentary session in which it was expected that Sir Robert Peel would announce the proposed abolition of the corn laws. 'The principles advocated by "The Daily News,"' Dickens wrote in the introductory article, 'will be principles of progress and improvement, of education, civil and religious liberty, and equal legislation—principles such as its conductors believe the advancing spirit of the time requires, the condition of the country demands, and justice, reason, and experience legitimately sanction. Very much is to be done, and must be done, towards the bodily comfort, mental elevation, and general contentment of the English people. But their social improvement is so inseparable from the well-doing of arts and commerce, the growth of public works, the free investment of capital in all those numerous helps to civilisation and improvement to which the ingenuity of the age gives birth, that we hold it to be impossible rationally to consider the true interests of the people as a class question, or to separate them from the interests of the merchant and manufacturer. Therefore it will be no part of our function to widen any breach that may unhappily subsist or may arise between employer and employed; but it will rather be our effort to show their true relations, their mutual dependence, and their mutual power of adding to the sum of general happiness and prosperity. That this great end can never be advanced without the carrying of a calm and moderate tone into the discussion of all questions bearing upon it is sufficiently apparent. In such a tone we shall hope to treat them.'

Those sentences—pledging 'The Daily News' to more advanced Liberalism than had hitherto appeared

in any daily paper, except now and then in 'The Morning Chronicle' and in the shortlived but valiant 'Constitutional,' which Dickens seems, consciously or unconsciously, to have taken as his model in some respects, and honestly claiming to hold neutral ground between wealthy arrogance and plebeian discontent, both of which had spokesmen enough in the press—were dignified and explicit, as also were the others that called special attention to 'one feature in the course we have marked out for ourselves.' 'We seek as far as in us lies,' said Dickens, 'to elevate the character of the public press in England. We believe it would attain a much higher position, and that those who wield its powers would be infinitely more respected as a class, and an important one, if it were purged of a disposition to sordid attacks upon itself, which only prevails in England and America. We discern nothing in the editorial plural that justifies a gentleman or body of gentlemen in discarding a gentleman's forbearance and responsibility, and venting ungenerous spleen against a rival by a perversion of a great power—a power, however, which is only great so long as it is good and honest. The stamp on newspapers is not like the stamp on universal medicine bottles, which licenses anything, however false and monstrous; and we are sure this misuse of it, in any notorious case, not only offends and repels right-minded men in that particular instance, but naturally, though unjustly, involves the whole press as a pursuit or profession in the feeling so awakened, and places the characters of all who are associated with it at a great disadvantage. Entering on this adventure of a new daily journal in a spirit of honourable competition and hope of public usefulness, we seek in our new station at once to preserve our own self-respect and to be respected, for ourselves and for it, by our readers.'

Among the chief proprietors of 'The Daily News' at its commencement were Bradbury and Evans, Sir William Jackson, Sir Joshua Walmsley, and Sir Joseph Paxton, the capital raised or promised being 100,000*l.* Dickens's salary as editor was fixed at 2,000*l.*, and there was corresponding liberality in the scale of payments to be made to the large staff of leader writers, literary and musical critics, reporters, and others that were engaged, several of them being induced by friendship for Dickens or by offers of higher salaries to transfer their services from 'The Morning Chronicle.' Forster, who was now writing much for 'The Examiner' under Fonblanque, was one of the principal leader writers, and Eyre Evans Crowe, long connected with 'The Chronicle,' was another. William Henry Wills and Frederick Knight Hunt were sub-editors. William Weir had charge of the department for collecting information and offering comments on the railway enterprises that were then unhealthily active. There was a foreign assistant editor who looked after the correspondence from Paris and other places abroad. Dickens's father was responsible for the parliamentary reporting, Laman Blanchard, Blanchard Jerrold, Joseph Archer Crowe, and more than a dozen others being subordinate to him. All the arrangements for carrying on the paper were made with a lavish outlay of money, almost the only economy attempted being in a halving of the cost of foreign expenses by entering into partnership for this purpose with Edward Baldwin, who had purchased 'The Morning Herald' some two years before, his son, Charles Baldwin, being already proprietor of 'The Standard.' The new owner of 'The Herald' had done much to improve it, especially as regards the collection of foreign news and advocacy of Lord Palmerston's views on continental affairs, and in the hope of crushing

him, the managers of 'The Times' had excluded him from participation in the service of special messengers which the proprietors of 'The Chronicle' and 'The Post' were allowed to share with them in order to forestall the General Post Office in the bringing of letters from abroad. The expenses of such a service were not less than 10,000*l.* a year, and Edward Baldwin was as glad as were the proprietors of 'The Daily News,' that this heavy outlay should be divided between them.

The first number of 'The Daily News' was for those days a remarkable exploit in journalism. Dickens's opening article was followed by three others, all dealing with the supremely important question of corn law reform in various aspects; and more than a page was occupied with a full report of a meeting on the subject held on the previous evening at Ipswich and of a great speech there delivered by Richard Cobden. Nearly the whole of another page was devoted to a long review of railway affairs and to reports of proceedings connected therewith in various parts of the country. Two columns were filled with a gossiping and critical article on the music of the day, written by Dickens's father-in-law, George Hogarth, who had charge of this portion of the paper. A spirited poem, 'The Wants of the People,' appeared as the first of a series of twelve 'Voices from the Crowd' which Charles Mackay had been commissioned to write. And, for the satisfaction of Dickens's many admirers, the number contained the first of a series of 'Travelling Letters, written on the Road,' describing some of his experiences when abroad in 1844, which were afterwards reprinted as 'Pictures from Italy.'

The next few numbers were hardly less attractive. The same writers and others crowded with varied and

interesting matter all the columns not required for news of the day. The war against protection was waged with unparalleled vigour, the seventh number being accompanied by a four-page supplement giving 'some account of the corn laws and their operations, designed to elucidate the approaching debates,' and the tenth containing a long letter from Cobden 'to the tenant farmers of England.' Among other letters of rare interest was one in which Walter Savage Landor denounced the system of slavery in the United States, and, besides continuing his 'Travelling Letters,' Dickens commenced another series, 'Letters on Social Questions'; the first, on 'Crime and Education,' being published on the thirteenth day.

But Dickens only edited seventeen numbers of 'The Daily News.' On February 9 he wrote to Forster, saying that, 'tired to death and quite worn out,'[1] he had thrown up the work; and, apparently without compunction, he left the paper to fare as best it could without him, except that he consented to the publication at intervals during the next three months both of his letters on Italian travel and of a few others on English social questions. Thereupon Forster, not very cheerfully, but in order to relieve his friend from the irksome and unsuitable responsibility he had taken on himself, became acting editor, and he retained the office till nearly the end of the year. 'God knows there has been small comfort for either of us in "The Daily News" nine months,' Dickens wrote to him on October 28. 'Make a vow (as I have done) never to go down that court with the newsshop at the corner any more, and let us swear by Jack Straw as in the ancient times. I am beginning to get over my sorrow for your nights up aloft in Whitefriars, and to feel nothing but

[1] Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, vol. ii. p. 92.

happiness in the contemplation of your enfranchisement.'[1]

Dickens was through life as erratic and arbitrary as any man of greater genius could be, not more generous and self-sacrificing when the humour took him than he was reckless of his obligations to others and of his own best interests when his whim was perverse. Those who thoughtlessly acted on his suggestion that an expensive newspaper should be started for him to edit, and who entrusted him with duties that he was quite unfit to perform, however, must share the blame for the fiasco that nearly caused 'The Daily News' to be wrecked before it was three weeks old. It is clear, moreover, though nothing to this effect has been recorded, that from the first there were serious differences between Dickens and his editorial staff and at least some of the proprietors. All probably were at one regarding the free-trade policy that had especially to be insisted upon when the paper was started, and there could be no doubt in the minds of any as to the propriety of following Cobden's lead in this matter. But many free-traders were at variance with Cobden on other problems that had to be dealt with from time to time in the columns of a newspaper, and England's foreign and colonial complications, and conflicting proposals for coping with them, caused wide divergence in the ranks even of the more advanced Liberals. There would have been ample room for quarrelling had 'The Daily News' been at its commencement a prosperous undertaking. As it was then far from prosperous, constant friction was inevitable, and, Dickens not being a man who would consent to any economies he disapproved of, we may assume that this, as well as the restless disposition that made steady attendance to the

[1] Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, vol. ii. pp. 275, 276.

routine of a newspaper office uncongenial to him, led to his sudden abandonment of the task he had undertaken.

'The Daily News' was saved from ruin by the appointment of Charles Wentworth Dilke as its manager when it had been in existence three months. Dilke had had experience in retrieving the fortunes of an unlucky paper. In 1830 he became part proprietor and editor of 'The Athenæum,' started two years before by James Silk Buckingham, and he lost no time in adopting on that paper a bold policy which, after patient effort, made it not only an influential literary organ, but also a valuable property. In 1831 he lowered its price from eightpence to fourpence. 'Mercy on us!' wrote John Hamilton Reynolds, who then had a small interest in it, 'after the cost of writers, printers, duty, and paper, what in the name of the practical part of a farthing remains to report upon as profit?' The reduction in price, however, had such satisfactory results that in 1835 Dilke added eight pages to the sixteen to which 'The Athenæum' had previously been limited. 'So you enlarge "The Athenæum,"' Allan Cunningham then wrote. 'You already give too much for the money.' This change also proved satisfactory. In 1840, by which time Dilke had come to be sole owner, the paper was reported to be 'a success, but not yet a financial success if past losses were added to the wrong side of the account; it was paying well, but had not repaid the money which had been sunk on it at first.' The balance was soon adjusted, and in April 1846 Dilke, assigning the editorship of 'The Athenæum' to other hands, undertook to carry out a like policy with 'The Daily News,' to which he engaged himself for a term of three years.[1]

[1] Dilke, *Papers of a Critic*, vol. i. pp. 25, 33, 47, 61.

His first year's experiences were trying. All the efforts made to produce a paper as well supplied as 'The Times' with news and readable matter of all sorts having failed to secure for it a circulation of 4,000, while that of 'The Times' was then at least 25,000, Dilke adopted the same tactics—in this instance far more venturesome—which he had pursued with 'The Athenæum.' On June 1 the price of 'The Daily News' was lowered from fivepence to twopence-halfpenny, which, as a penny stamp had to be used in either case, was equal to a reduction of nearly two-thirds. Four pages instead of eight were generally given, except when the pressure of news or advertisements justified a doubling of the size; but though the circulation was quickly raised to 22,000, this by no means covered the expenses, and fresh troubles arose.

No attempt had hitherto been made to issue a morning paper at so low a price, and the jealousy with which 'The Daily News' had from the first been regarded by its contemporaries now developed into violent opposition, and a league among the rivals for its overthrow. 'The Times' took the lead with frequent and outrageous abuse, for which a pretext was found in the Radicalism of the newcomer; and underhand tricks appear to have been freely resorted to. The worst injury done to 'The Daily News,' of which it openly and angrily complained, appeared in a patching up of the old feud between 'The Times' and 'The Herald' as regards the procuring of foreign news. 'The Herald,' till now excluded from the system of continental expresses which Walter had organised, and in which he had allowed 'The Chronicle' and 'The Post' to participate, was invited to share in that arrangement, and thus to obtain its news from abroad at a cost of much less than half of the 10,000*l.* a year

which it had agreed to divide with 'The Daily News.' The whole outlay of 10,000*l.* a year under this head was accordingly—and as the victim declared, by dishonourable breach of the contract between them—thrown on 'The Daily News,'[1] and in order to meet the additional expense of 5,000*l.* a year, the price of the paper was raised to threepence on October 29.

The warfare between the young journal and its older rivals was carried on more hotly than ever, personal animosities being expressed in political controversy, and 'The Daily News' was only enabled to keep alive by the persevering shrewdness of its zealous manager and the intervention of fresh capitalists who, being all members of what was sneered at as the Manchester school, wished it to be even more Radical, and therefore more unpopular with many, than it had been at starting. It was at length deemed expedient to revert to the original size and price, and on February 1, 1849, 'The Daily News' appeared once more as a fivepenny paper of eight pages, the plea for the change being that less than eight pages were insufficient for adequately resisting, from day to day, the combined Toryism of 'The Times,' 'The Chronicle,' 'The Herald,' and 'The Post'; but there was probably not much financial advantage from the change. Besides the original capital of 100,000*l.*, another 100,000*l.*, it is said, was sunk in the paper during the first ten years of its struggling life. Dilke, who had had many disputes with his employers during the term of his three years' engagement, retired from the management in April 1849.[2]

[1] *Daily News*, October 28, 1846.

[2] As Knight Hunt was sub-editor of *The Daily News* at the time, we may assume that his account of 'the staff and newspaper expenses of a daily paper in 1850' (*Fourth Estate*, vol. ii. pp. 196–204), was a statement of the cost of producing that journal. It included the weekly salaries of a chief editor 18*l.* 18*s.*, a sub-editor 12*l.* 12*s.*, a second sub-editor

Forster had been succeeded in the editorship in the autumn of 1846 by Eyre Evans Crowe, whose general fitness for the post condoned or excused in the eyes of the proprietors his Palmerstonian leanings on foreign policy, with which most of them were not in accord. On all domestic questions, however, Crowe was at one with the Manchester Radicals, and about most of the foreign questions that came to the front in these years the differences between them were not great. The conduct of the ministers of Louis Philippe towards the close of his inglorious reign deprived them of all English sympathy, and, whatever the Whigs might think, Radicals of every shade could not but agree with Palmerston and the Tories in condemning such diplomatic muddling as showed itself in the Spanish marriages complications and in French interference with the Italian aspirations after liberty. After the ill-managed revolution of 1848, moreover, and while the injudicious republicans in France were preparing for the second empire, Crowe could have little reason for expressing in 'The Daily News' opinions that were not endorsed by Cobden and his friends. He was free to give a generous support to the Hungarian as well as to the Italian movements towards self-government, and to condemn the absolutism of Austria and Russia no less than the more contemptible tyranny of the Bour-

10*l.* 10*s.*, a foreign sub-editor 8*l.* 8*s.*, and an estimate of 4*l.* 4*s.* a day for leader-writers; also a Paris correspondent at 10*l.* 10*s.* a week, and agents in Boulogne, Madrid, Rome, Naples or Turin, Vienna, Berlin, and Lisbon, varying from 1*l.* 1*s.* to 5*l.* 5*s.*, and receiving 24*l.* 3*s.* in all. The salaries of sixteen parliamentary reporters amounted to 86*l.* 7*s.* a week, and the cost of law reports to about half as much, while 9*l.* 9*s.* was spent on a money article and city news. The chief printer's salary was 5*l.* or 6*l.*, and he had about sixty compositors and others under him. There were about twenty machinists and boys. The publisher's salary was 5*l.* 5*s.* a week, and the total cost of production averaged 520*l.*; the editorial expenses being 220*l.*, the cost of foreign and local correspondence 100*l.*, and the outlay in printing, machining, publishing, &c., 200*l.*

bons, provided his protests against these foreign scandals did not involve suggestions of English intervention. When in 1852 the differences between him and the proprietors grew wider he resigned the editorship, which was next held creditably by Knight Hunt during the two years before his death.

Though 'The Daily News' had troubled life during its early years, it profited by the defection of 'The Morning Chronicle' from Liberalism. After Black's dismissal, in 1843, and yet more after the establishment of 'The Daily News,' when Dickens drew away from it several of its best writers, 'The Chronicle' fared ill. Having supported Lord Palmerston, in opposition to his colleagues, while he was foreign secretary in the Melbourne administration, it continued to support his views in opposition to the policy of Lord Aberdeen, who was foreign secretary under Sir Robert Peel from 1841 to 1846, and it was still Palmerston's champion in the press when he resumed the foreign secretaryship in Lord John Russell's ministry. This consistency was not discreditable to the proprietor, Sir John Easthope, but it gave offence to others, both in high and in low quarters. In high quarters Lord John and those of his colleagues who were not Palmerstonian preferred, as was only prudent, the friendship of 'The Times,' now proffered to them, to that of 'The Chronicle.' 'They have concluded an alliance with the leviathan of the press,' Greville wrote in July 1846, 'which gives them a temperate, judicious, but very useful support. "The Morning Chronicle" is furious at seeing the position of "The Times," *vis-à-vis* of the government, and the editor went to John Russell to remonstrate, but he got no satisfaction. He merely replied that he did not wish to have any *government* paper, but could not repudiate the support of "The Times." He remembers

that "The Morning Chronicle" was the paper of Palmerston, devoted exclusively to him, and not that of the government.'[1]

The tactics of Easthope and his new editor were not made more friendly to Lord John Russell by the premier's contempt. They held to their plan of zealously supporting Lord Palmerston and condemning all who opposed him, and they certainly had warrant for this in the line taken at that time by rival politicians as regards the Spanish marriages. 'I sat next to Palmerston at the sheriffs' dinner,' wrote Greville in February 1847, 'and told him a great deal about Paris, and especially the mischief "The Morning Chronicle" had done there. He said, "I dare say they attribute the articles to me." I told him, since he asked me, that they did, and that it was difficult to convince them that they did not emanate from him. He affected to know nothing about them, but I told him it really would be well to find means to put a stop to them. Meanwhile, the attacks on Aberdeen have drawn down on Palmerston two vigorous articles in "The Times," which may teach him that he has everything to lose and nothing to gain by such a contest, the very inferior articles in "The Chronicle" not being read by a fifth part of those who read the far better ones in "The Times."'[2]

A year after that 'The Morning Chronicle' was effectually purged of Palmerstonianism by a change of proprietorship. On July 26, 1847, Sir John Easthope, who had been carrying on the paper at a loss for some time, incurred further loss by reducing the price from fivepence to fourpence, and as soon as opportunity offered for relieving himself of his burden he took advantage of it. Reverting to its former price, and

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 406.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 52.

altering its politics, 'The Chronicle' made a fresh start on February 21, 1848.

Its new proprietors were the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Lincoln, Sidney Herbert, and other influential Peelites who were willing to spend money during seven years in pushing the interests of their party; and its new editor was John Douglas Cook, who had for some time been one of the reporters of 'The Times,' and who gathered round him a brilliant staff of contributors, including George Sydney Smythe, afterwards Lord Strangford, Gilbert Venables, Abraham Hayward, William Vernon Harcourt, and Thackeray.[1] Its business manager was William Delane, the father of the clever young editor of 'The Times,' the long-standing feud between the two papers being to some extent weakened by their approximation to the same views in politics, as well as by their agreement in efforts to stamp out 'The Daily News.' One novelty in the plan of 'The Chronicle' during these years of brief revival was the issue of several editions during the day, furnishing items of late information so soon as they arrived, and thus offering a clumsy substitute for the evening papers, whose ranks had been augmented since September 1, 1846, by the appearance of 'The Express,' an afternoon supplement to 'The Daily News.'

Differing widely from 'The Daily News' in politics, 'The Chronicle' vied with it in the department of journalism which Dickens, even in his short term of newspaper editorship, had done much to encourage. The public interest in abuses of the law and the need of amending faults that had been allowed to grow

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, edited by H. E. Carlisle, vol. i. p. 125; Mackay, *Forty Years' Recollections*, vol. ii. p. 150; *A Collection of Letters of W. M. Thackeray*, p. 29. 'As if I had not enough to do,' Thackeray wrote in October 1848, 'I have begun to blaze away in *The Chronicle* again. It's an awful bribe—that five guineas an article.'

up in our social institutions rendered it necessary for these subjects to be written about in the newspapers, and suggested various inquiries and reports by which they could please if not instruct their readers. The sort of work that Fonblanque had long been doing in 'The Examiner' was now done more grotesquely in 'Punch' and more picturesquely in weeklies like 'The Illustrated London News,' and when Dickens showed how effective could be a column or two on the value of ragged schools, on the abominations of hanging, and so forth, others followed suit. The appalling outbreak of cholera in 1848 led to investigations in which all the daily papers took part, but no others so largely as 'The Morning Chronicle'; and an unparalleled exploit in journalism of this sort was begun in the same paper on October 18, when it published the first of a long series of articles on 'Labour and the Poor,' designed 'to give a full and detailed description of the moral, intellectual, material, and physical condition of the industrial poor throughout England,' and, as it announced, carefully prepared by 'a chosen body of practical writers and thinkers, admirably qualified by prior knowledge and habits of observation for their task.'[1]

The first of these articles furnished in more than three columns the opening portion of an account of industrial life and pauperism in Manchester, and it was followed by many others dealing in the same way with the various manufacturing towns, most of these being written by Angus Bethune Reach, with help from Charles Mackay and others.[2] The intention was to publish one such lengthy and weighty article every day, two each week treating of the manufacturing

[1] *Morning Chronicle*, October 18, 1849.
[2] Mackay, *Forty Years' Recollections*, vol. ii. p. 153.

towns, two others, most of which were written by Alexander Mackay, treating of the rural districts, and the remaining two, compiled by Henry Mayhew, to whose initiation the whole plan was due, being devoted to the aspects of low life in London. The order was often disturbed by the pressure of parliamentary and other matter for which room had to be found; but the articles were continued, with intermissions, through several months, and the largest and most attractive group furnished the substance of Mayhew's famous work on 'London Labour and the London Poor.' For this work the author rightly claimed that it was 'the first attempt to publish the history of a people from the lips of the people themselves, giving a literal description of their labour, their earnings, their trials, and their sufferings, in their own "unvarnished" language, and to portray the conditions of their homes and their families by personal observation of the places and direct communion with the individuals.'[1]

Seeking to increase its circulation and influence by such worthy projects as that, 'The Morning Chronicle,' under Douglas Cook, was a zealous upholder of Peelite doctrine in its political articles, and those articles were all the more interesting because they were chiefly written by men who, if not quite amateurs in newspaper work, could hardly be called professional journalists. One of the most energetic and persevering was Abraham Hayward, who from the commencement of the new rule, wrote two or three leaders every week. Hayward was at home at clubs and fashionable dinner-parties, and all through life an approved intermediary between politicians and editors. He was also a ready writer. Being in the gallery of the House of Lords on May 8, 1849, when the newly-made Earl of Derby, 'the Rupert

[1] Preface to *London Labour and the London Poor.*

of debate,' almost procured by his brilliant oratory the defeat of the bill to repeal the navigation laws, Hayward scribbled on a few sheets of note paper a smart reply to the protectionist arguments used during the sitting, and, as soon as the debate was over, hurried to the printing office with his article ready for publication next morning. This article, causing some astonishment when it appeared, and rousing jealous feelings in the breasts of other newspaper writers, is said to have set the fashion of issuing editorial comments on parliamentary proceedings side by side with the reports of those proceedings, instead of allowing a day to elapse.[1]

'The Morning Chronicle' was a serviceable, if a costly, engine for the leading of the Peelites from the Conservatism from which they started to the Liberalism in which most of them found rest; and the migration and its guidance, skilfully carried on during the five and a half years of Lord John Russell's first administration, were nearly concluded during Lord Derby's nine months' tenure of office in 1852. 'The Times,' always more or less friendly to Lord Aberdeen, was preferred by him to the more devoted 'Chronicle,' as a newspaper organ, when he became premier in December 1852; and it said all that could be said for him and his colleagues to any useful purpose so long as it was possible for anything to be said with the smallest effect, but this abandonment of 'The Chronicle' for 'The Times' was a cruel blow to the patient apostles of the men now in power. On September 14, 1853, after complaining that Lord John Russell, who preceded Lord Clarendon as foreign secretary under Lord Aberdeen, seemed to have a personal dislike for him, Hayward wrote to Sir John Young, the chief secretary for Ireland, 'I must tell you another "Chronicle" grievance which the editor wishes

[1] Pebody, *English Journalism, and the Men who have made it*, p. 118.

me to mention. Copies of public documents and the last despatch of Lord Clarendon, published two days since, for example, are uniformly kept back from him and given to "The Times." This is both unfair and impolitic. "The Chronicle" is the only morning paper that has uniformly supported the government, and "The Times" constantly turns against it on the chance of gaining any stray ray of popularity.' Young sympathised with the conductors of 'The Chronicle,' and, on his behalf, Lord Elcho wrote somewhat cynically on September 28: 'I am sorry that Cook is hurt at not having received the Clarendon July despatch at the same time as "The Times." He certainly is entitled to be treated upon an equality, if not to have a preference given to him, in all matters of government information, for he has certainly been a staunch friend to the Peelites, and to the coalition, whilst our friend "The Times" is a staunch friend only to "The Times."'[1]

But 'The Chronicle' was losing ground and being deserted by all its supporters, divisions arising even among the Peelites of the inner circle that tried to keep it alive. 'What has come over Harcourt?' Hayward wrote on December 19 to the Duke of Newcastle, whose special mouthpiece he was in 'The Chronicle.' 'His language about the government seems borrowed from "The Herald" or "The Standard." Cook, too, is getting too bellicose. I had a long talk with him yesterday, and I have written to him again to-day. The articles in this day's paper, however, appear to me to be in the right tone. He is a good fellow, and open to reason, but rather apt to be swayed by men like Harcourt, who, though a clever fellow, is rather too fond of strong language and uncompromising steps.'[2]

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. i. pp. 189, 191.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 220.

All Hayward's efforts to keep Cook in the right path or to restore political strength to their paper, however, were unavailing. 'The Chronicle' lingered on as a would-be Peelite organ through 1854, and on May 30 in that year, writing to Sir John Young, Hayward said, 'There is not a word of truth in a prevalent report that "The Chronicle" has been sold.'[1] But the crash came in the autumn. By a curious arrangement, the paper with all its plant was then sold to Serjeant Glover for 7,500*l.*, on the understanding that, if he continued to support in it the Peelite policy, he should have the money back with interest, being paid 3,000*l.* a year for three years.[2]

That contract soon fell through, as Glover preferred to draw a subsidy from Louis Napoleon, and to make other experiments; but while it lasted Hayward clung to the sinking ship. 'Things seem settling at last,' he wrote to Sir George Cornewall Lewis on February 8, 1855, 'and I am glad of it, for I have written the first article of "The Morning Chronicle" for more than a fortnight (being often obliged to re-write more than once in a day), and I am dead beat. This paper is getting very like the Crimean army. One day, about a month ago, the new proprietor, Serjeant Glover, came to me and said he had broken with all his staff, and that, unless he was helped he should break down at once, or put the paper into other hands. I thought it best to save it for the party, and so resumed writing for a period—a period very critical for my friends, and during the three weeks preceding their fall I was their only defender.' '"The Chronicle" was sold to Glover some months since,' Hayward said in a letter to Bulwer Lytton on March 29, 1855. 'I write an article for it

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. i. p. 221.
[2] James Grant, *Newspaper Press*, vol. ii. p. 311.

now and then; but that is the extent of my connection, and the Peelite party have nothing to do with it.'[1]

At the close of 1854 the circulation of 'The Morning Chronicle' averaged only about 2,500, while that of 'The Morning Post' was about 3,000, that of 'The Morning Herald' about 3,500, that of 'The Daily News' about 5,300, that of 'The Morning Advertiser' about 6,600, and that of 'The Times' about 55,000. The circulation of 'The Times' was thus nearly thrice that of the five other papers put together, and 'The Advertiser,' bought of necessity by every member of the Licensed Victuallers' Society, was next in rank; but in the course of nine years 'The Daily News' had taken precedence of the remaining three.

This youngest of the daily papers had been making slow but steady progress under Crowe's editorship and Dilke's management. The return in 1849 to the usual price of 5*d.* had lowered the circulation; but it left a much larger balance of income from each copy sold, with which to defray the heavy expenses inevitable to a newspaper that undertook to collect accurate information from places far and near. No pains were spared with this object, and along with an ample supply of news, there was plenty of the original writing on divers matters of interest about which the readers now expected to be instructed or amused. For some time Dr. Dionysius Lardner was the Paris correspondent, and among the numerous writers of occasional articles was William Hepworth Dixon, who contributed a series on 'The Literature of the Lower Orders' and, in 1849, another on 'London Prisons,' which led to the preparation of his first volume, 'John Howard.' When Frederick Knight Hunt became editor early in 1852 he brought to the work indefatigable energy and large experience

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. i. pp. 245, 252.

of the exact requirements of the paper and of its public. Hunt had been trained as a doctor but found journalism more to his liking, and had worked zealously on 'The Daily News' from its commencement, his original colleague in the sub-editorship, William Henry Wills, having retired in 1859 to assist Dickens in the production of 'Household Words.' Among Hunt's contributors was Harriet Martineau, one of the few women who have found congenial employment in regular newspaper writing.

'In April 1852,' wrote Miss Martineau, 'I received a letter from a literary friend in London, asking me, by desire of the editor of "The Daily News," whether I would send him a leader occasionally. I did not know who this editor was, had hardly seen a number of the paper, and had not the remotest idea whether I could write leaders.' At the age of fifty, however, she made the experiment, and with great success. 'I sent him two or three,' she reports, 'the second of which, I think it was, made such a noise that I found there would be no little amusement in my new work, if I found I could do it. It was attributed to almost every possible writer but the real one. This hit set me forward cheerily, and I immediately promised to do a leader a week.' From sending one she soon began to send two, and before long the average rose to five or six every week.[1] Her first important contributions were thirty-seven letters, written between August 10 and October 10, 1852, while she was making personal inquiry into the political and social condition of the Irish people, which were afterwards republished as 'Letters from Ireland.'

The relations between this contributor at Ambleside and her London editor were pleasant. 'We were precisely agreed,' she said, 'as to the principle of the war,

[1] *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, vol. ii. pp. 405, 406, 412.

as to the character of the Aberdeen ministry, as to the fallaciousness and mischievousness of the negotiations for the Austrian alliance, and as to the vicious absurdity of Prussia, and the mode and degree in which Louis Napoleon was to be regarded as the representative of the French nation. For some time past the historical and geographical articles had been my charge, together with the descriptive and speculative ones in relation to foreign personages and states. At home, the agricultural and educational articles were usually consigned to me, and I had the fullest liberty about the treatment of special topics arising anywhere. With party contests and the treatment of "hot and hot" news, I never had any concern, being several hundred miles out of the way of the latest intelligence.'[1] The work continued long after Knight Hunt's untimely death, at the age of forty, in 1854, when he was succeeded by his old colleague, William Weir.

Illustration of the way in which work of another sort was done for 'The Daily News' in times when railways were young and but few telegraphic lines had been opened, is furnished by William Hunt, who was then editor of 'The Western Courier' at Plymouth, as well as one of the local correspondents of the London paper, his instruction being 'to keep pace with "The Times."' Plymouth was at that time a place of special importance for collecting news, as the steamers bringing reports of the Kaffir war and the gold discoveries in Australia arrived there. 'In order to secure early information of the approach of a mail steamer,' we are told, 'the newspaper correspondents employed men to

[1] *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, vol. ii. p. 405. Among Miss Martineau's later contributions, during a connection of more than twenty years, were the contents of two volumes, *Endowed Schools in Ireland* and *Biographical Sketches*, the latter being fifty in number.

look out from the Hoe, the Devil's Point at Stonehouse, or other points commanding the sea beyond the Breakwater, for the purpose of reporting to them the appearance of the homeward-bound vessel off Plymouth Sound.' On one Sunday morning Hunt got notice of the expected vessel's approach. 'We were alongside the steamer before she was moored,' he says. 'I lost no time in boarding, obtaining the parcels of letters and papers for "The Daily News" and questioning the captain, the steward, and some passengers as to the incidents of the voyage home and the state of feeling in the colony, and having distributed some recent newspapers I had brought with me from the shore, I turned my face landwards. I hastened to the railway station and, as the train for London had left, I put myself in communication with the traffic-manager, and arranged for a special train, and while it was being got ready I ran home for such articles as I thought indispensable for a journey to London. On returning to the station I found the train, consisting of an engine and tender and one first-class carriage, ready. I made towards it, but, before reaching it, heard my friend Stevens, of "The Times," calling to me. I was not sorry to see him, for I was only instructed to "keep pace with 'The Times,'" and, having ascertained what the cost of the train would be, I felt a little doubtful how the cost would be regarded in Bouverie Street, and moreover I felt it would be more pleasant to have company than to travel alone all the way to London.' The two friends tore along in their special train, writing out their notes and eating their dinner on the way. At Bristol they overtook the regular train which had left Plymouth two hours before them, and there they took their seats in one of the carriages. 'We reached London rather later than we ought to have done; but I arrived at the "Daily News"

office time enough for my summary of the news to appear in the paper the same morning, and also a leader, written by Mr. Knight Hunt, the editor, after I had repeated to him the intelligence, which included a victory over the Kaffirs by General Sir Harry Smith.'[1]

[1] William Hunt, *Then and Now*, pp. 46-49.

CHAPTER XIX.

'THE TIMES' UNDER DELANE.

1841—1855.

JOHN THADDEUS DELANE was editor of 'The Times' during more than a third of a century; but the first fourteen years of that long term, in some respects more important and noteworthy than the remaining two-and-twenty, cover by themselves a distinct stage of newspaper history. Through a concurrence of causes and accidents which favoured the exercise of Delane's talents, 'The Times' rose to its highest point of influence and power before the abolition of the compulsory newspaper stamp had cleared the way for the full development of journalistic enterprise and for the working out of new rivalries. Since 1855 the conditions have altered, and have been constantly altering, and no skill or zeal has contrived to maintain 'The Times' in the unique position it formerly held.

Delane was born on October 11, 1817, and, after taking his degree at Oxford, had made some study of medicine, law, and other subjects before 1839 when he was first employed on 'The Times.' His father, a solicitor, and a Berkshire neighbour of John Walter's, had before then become connected with the paper as a business adviser, and the proprietor seems to have discovered at an early date the young man's abilities.

Barnes's sudden death in May 1841, preceded by that of an older colleague who had expected to succeed to the post, caused a vacancy which Delane was called upon to fill before he was twenty-four.[1] The appointment, if venturesome, proved to be most fortunate.

'The Times' had already far surpassed all the other London daily papers in circulation and authority, and Delane seems to have been singularly well fitted to advance its interests. Barnes had been courted by statesmen and the magnates of society, but had only been regarded by them as a person whom it was necessary to tolerate and propitiate. The new editor was at once made a friend of by fashionable people and astute politicians, and his good breeding and tact caused him to be a welcome guest at dinner parties and in drawing-rooms, where his predecessor and most of his compeers would have been ill at ease. His special patron, it would appear, was Charles Greville, the clerk to the privy council, a busy wirepuller, whose office brought him into intimate relations with the leading men of all parties;[2] and he rapidly advanced in favour with others, when it was found that he was a safe recipient of political confidences, and generally a discreet interpreter of the wishes and intentions of men in power. He knew how to win respect, and how to make himself feared where he was not liked. Writing little himself at that time, and hardly anything at all in later years, he was

[1] *Times*, November 25, 1879.

[2] 'The friendly relations which had for some time subsisted between Mr. Greville and Mr. Barnes,' says Mr. Henry Reeve, Greville's editor, 'were strengthened and consolidated under the administration of his successor. Mr. Delane was well aware that he would nowhere meet with a more sagacious adviser or a more valuable ally. He owed to Mr. Greville his first introduction to political society, of which he made so excellent a use, and where he gradually acquired the esteem of all parties, and a position which no editor of a newspaper had before enjoyed.'—*Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 3, note.

an apt instructor and critic of the writers under him, and, with ample means at his command, he was able to employ as many clever writers as he needed, reserving himself for use of his peculiar faculty as a journalist in polishing and sharpening the articles written for him by others.

Delane's editorship began at a time of political crisis that gave him early opportunity for distinguishing himself. Lord Melbourne's long-tottering ministry, which had been almost consistently opposed by the potentates of Printing House Square, was defeated in June 1841, and the general election that followed in July placed the Tories in an overwhelming majority, a result which, though it could hardly have been otherwise, 'The Times' claimed and obtained credit for largely promoting by its vigorous attacks on the disorganised Whigs. When Sir Robert Peel took office in September the paper was in a position to profit by the turn of public opinion and to dictate with some effect to the new government. It was not ostensibly, or even really, a ministerial organ. Purporting, as was its wont, to be an independent onlooker and mentor, and to support no policy that it did not approve, it adopted a supercilious attitude and was often violently antagonistic towards those in office; its object and well-planned method, however, being to control rather than to thwart their proceedings, and above all, by securing early information as to the course of those proceedings and by putting a cloak of omniscience over its extensive knowledge, to give an appearance of leading where it might be only following.

The five years of Peel's administration were years of exceptional confusion in the political world, where popular movements, which had been gaining strength ever since the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, had to

be dealt with, and the old conditions of party warfare—with a few great Whig and Tory families in keen rivalry for place and power, and agreed only on the necessity of holding the nation in general at bay—had to be abandoned or reshaped in accordance with altogether new exigencies. Lord Melbourne's government had broken down because its members were at feud with one another and quite unable to cope with the forces opposed to them, deserted by the Radicals whom they had played with and betrayed too often, and despised by the Tories, among whom, however, there was as little cohesion, and who differed widely as to the principles to be served and the tactics to be followed in working out reforms, or in propitiating the multitude without yielding more than could be helped to its demands. When Peel took office he had to reckon with men like the Duke of Wellington—who, though not at first in the cabinet, was commander-in-chief and the real head of the old Tory party—and Lord Wharncliffe and the Duke of Buckingham, who were perforce his colleagues, and with others like Sir James Graham and Lord Aberdeen, his home and foreign secretaries, and such younger and bolder Tory revolutionaries outside as Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli soon proved themselves to be. The social complications and their political bearings which had to be faced were aptly illustrated in 'Coningsby' and 'Sybil'; and though such domestic concerns as Chartism and Tractarianism, poor-law reform, and above all the corn-law question, and, only second to it, the various elements of trouble in Ireland, were of paramount importance, foreign difficulties were not slight, whether incident to the meddlings of Louis Philippe's government in European affairs, to the English disputes with the United States which were then serious, or to such expansions of our

remote eastern policy as showed themselves in the Afghan disasters and the Sikh war.

On all these and on all cognate subjects, Peel, either from honest conviction or on intelligent prudential grounds, was inclined towards more Liberal action than the old-fashioned Tories favoured, and he needed all the help he could get, from journalists and others, in educating some of his colleagues in office, and many members of his own party, as well as the public at large. 'The Times,' under Delane, while personally attacking him, helped his cause considerably in such ways as seemed good to it, with much prejudice and more arrogance, but in ways that were too serviceable for him to take much umbrage at whatever was ungracious in their method or adverse in their details. Delane knew how to use his opportunity, though it is evident that during the lifetime of his first employer, the John Walter who died in 1847, and who had strong political views that it was incumbent on the editor to enforce, he had by no means so free a hand as afterwards.

'The Morning Chronicle,' in 1841, was still edited by John Black, and in the main a zealous supporter of Whig policy, with strong leaning to the line pursued by Lord Palmerston, whose sympathies were in many respects more Conservative than Liberal, and in some more Conservative than those of Peel, and those of his associates in office with whom he most agreed. 'The Times,' though often urging the new government to be bolder in its foreign policy than it inclined to be, was not violent enough for the Palmerstonians, while on most domestic concerns, in so far as it opposed the government, its opposition was as much anti-Radical as that of 'The Chronicle' was Radical in its tendencies. When Peel introduced his first budget in March 1842,

reviving Pitt's scheme of an income tax and thus finding means to dispense with some duties on foreign imports, 'The Times' condemned the change in guarded terms, writing in the interests of the wealthy merchants and great landowners with whom it was nearly always in accord. On the other hand it encouraged the government in its resolve to keep as clear as it could of the foreign entanglements that Palmerston was anxious to promote, and in this it did good service.

An instance occurred in the autumn of 1842, when the Washington treaty negotiated by Lord Ashburton for settling the disputes as to the boundary-line between Canada and Maine was under discussion. '"The Morning Chronicle,"' Greville wrote on September 24, 'opened a fire upon the American treaty in the beginning of last week, which has been well sustained in a succession of articles of very unequal merit. To these "The Times" has responded, and in my opinion very successfully. It was amusing to me to read in the columns of "The Chronicle" all that I had been hearing Palmerston say, *totidem verbis*. His articles were merely a repetition of his talk, and that as exactly as if the latter had been taken down in shorthand.' And on October 4 Greville added, 'there has been a continual discussion of the boundary treaty, kept up by Palmerston's articles in "The Morning Chronicle," which have been well replied to in "The Times" and "The Standard," and still more "The Spectator" and "The Examiner."'[1]

Many of Greville's entries in his diary illustrate the progress of newspaper controversy in those days, and its growing importance in guiding public opinion, especially as it was conducted by 'those not very unequal antagonists,' 'The Times' and 'The Chronicle.' 'The bishop of London,' he wrote in October 1842, for

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. pp. 105, 109.

instance, 'was and is still going about his diocese delivering a very elaborate charge, which has excited a good deal of notice, and parts of which have been well enough quizzed in "The Morning Chronicle." To the surprise of many people, his charge, like those of the bishops of Exeter and Oxford, contains some crumbs of compliment to the Puseyites, and an endeavour to prescribe some formal observances half-way in advance towards their opinions. It is curious, too, to see "The Times," which certainly exercises no small or limited influence, become decidedly Puseyite. Its Catholic tendencies are intermingled with its poor-law crotchets, and both are of a highly democratic character.'[1]

The poor-law crotchets of 'The Times,' certainly not of a democratic character, were due to the strong prejudices of the proprietor, which in those days influenced the paper in many ways. Walter had entered parliament as a Whig in 1832, but, as 'The Times' showed, he soon quarrelled with Lord Grey's government, and especially with its more Radical members, among them being Sir James Graham. Graham in conjunction with Grote and others helped to obtain the reform of the poor laws in 1835, and this measure was constantly and vehemently denounced by Walter, who, now holding dignified rank among the Berkshire gentry and member for the county, shared the views of the old-fashioned squires and clergy as to the virtue of the system of indiscriminate charity and patronage of pauperism which the reformers assailed. It was in consequence of his strong holding of these views that Walter lost his parliamentary seat in 1837, and his personal animosity against Graham was not lessened when the latter took office as a Tory under Sir Robert Peel. Against Peel also he had a grudge, which biassed his

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 112.

own action in parliament when, being elected member for Nottingham in 1841, he again had a place in it;[1] and his dislike both of the premier and of his home secretary was made manifest in 'The Times,' even when it endorsed their public conduct.

At both of these ministers 'The Times' sneered whenever opportunity offered or could be found. In July 1844 such an opportunity arose out of the complaints that were made about the opening of Mazzini's letters at the Post Office under Sir James Graham's warrant. 'The press took it up,' said Greville; 'the Whig press as a good ground of attack on the government, and especially Graham; and "The Times," merely from personal hatred of Graham, whom they are resolved to write down if they can on account of his honest support of the poor law.' A select committee was appointed to inquire into the matter; but 'this concession by no means disarmed his opponents, and "The Times," particularly, has continued to attack him with the utmost virulence, but so coarsely and unfairly as quite to overshoot the mark.' A year before that, on the introduction of Peel's Irish Arms Bill in June 1843, 'The Times' had attacked the measure 'in articles of extraordinary violence,' though certainly not in consequence of any kindly feelings to the Irish; and a year later, when in April, 1845, Peel brought forward his scheme for endowing Maynooth College, 'The Times' kept pegging away in a series of articles as mischievous as malignity could make them, and, in Greville's opinion, 'by far the most disgraceful that ever appeared on a political subject in any public journal.'[2]

[1] 'Walter came in for Nottingham,' says Greville, 'on an anti-poor-law cry, and by the union of Chartists and Tories to defeat the Whig candidate.'—*Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. i. p. 391.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 249, 250, 189, 279.

Though thus at variance with Peel's government on many subjects, 'The Times' still gave it a large measure of support, and was much in its confidence, Lord Aberdeen, the foreign secretary, being Delane's chief friend in Downing Street. The scandalous policy of the French court in forcing Queen Isabella of Spain and her sister to marry Louis Philippe's kinsmen was notified to Lord Aberdeen while he was at Ostend in 1843. 'As soon as Aberdeen returned to London,' it was reported by Greville, to whom Delane confided the information; 'he sent for Delane and told him this; for notwithstanding the hostile and offensive tone which "The Times" has adopted towards the government generally, particularly Peel and Graham, this formidable paper is in a sort of alliance with the Foreign Office, and the communications between Lord Aberdeen and Delane are regular and frequent.' [1]

The most memorable communication of all was made in December 1845, in anticipation of the abolition of the corn laws.

'The Times,' as has been noted, had as far back as 1839 denounced the duties on imported grain, while nearly all the other newspapers had supported them; but it took a different view in 1842 when Peel gave the first intimation of his desire to effect the urgently needed reform. Its opposition, however, was not to a reduction of the duty, which indeed it was always willing to dispense with altogether, but to Peel's sliding scale. In this view it agreed with Richard Cobden and others whom as Radicals it detested.

Richard Cobden, who had entered parliament in 1841, made his first speech in the course of the debate on Peel's proposal of a sliding scale, and also objected to it, not on the ground of its going as far as it went,

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 200.

but because it did not go far enough and was an insult to the people who were starving under a protective tariff. John Bright has told how, listening to the speech from the gallery of the House of Commons, he at the same time observed the deportment of Horace Twiss, then one of the principal writers on 'The Times,' who sat near him. 'He appeared to have the greatest possible horror of anybody who was a manufacturer or a calico printer coming down into the assembly to teach our senators wisdom. As the speech went on, I watched his countenance and heard his observations; and when Mr. Cobden sat down, he said with a careless gesture, "Nothing in him; he is only a barker."'[1] Cobden continued to be despised as 'a barker,' and denounced as a Radical incendiary, all through the years of the anti-corn-law agitation, although now and then 'The Times' was constrained, while deploring that the movement should have such incendiaries for leaders, to admit that Cobden and his friends of the Anti-Corn-law League were doing useful work. 'The League is a great fact,' it declared, in a tone of sorrow, on November 18, 1843. 'It would be foolish—nay, rash—to deny its importance. It is a great fact that there should have been created in the homesteads of our manufacturers a confederacy devoted to the agitation of one political question, persevering at it year after year, shrinking from no trouble, dismayed by no danger, making light of every obstacle.' 'No moralist can disregard them,' it said of this and other facts; 'no politician can sneer at them; no statesman can undervalue them. He who collects opinions must chronicle them; he who frames laws must to some extent consult them.'

'The Times' would have been much better pleased had Sir Robert Peel's government consulted and obeyed

[1] G. Barnett Smith, *Life of John Bright*, vol. i. p. 144.

it instead of taking orders from the Anti-Corn-law League. But it showed more magnanimity than might have been expected from it in welcoming the change when it was made at the instigation of others, and it had unalloyed satisfaction in being allowed to startle the world by a premature announcement of the change as soon as it had been resolved upon.

The story of this announcement is remarkable, and, as Greville said, 'presents a curious under-current in politics,' and of newspaper influence therein. The state of the country had become desperate, stormy meetings being held everywhere, at which the government was called upon to save the people from famine by abolishing the corn dues, and Peel had agreed with Aberdeen, Graham, and some others of his colleagues, though not with the more Tory half of his cabinet, that the demand must be complied with, when, on November 22, 1845, Lord John Russell issued a letter to his constituents, avowing that the time had come for a compromise between the Whigs and the followers of Peel by the former's acceptance of Peel's offer of a sliding scale against which they had hitherto protested. 'Let us unite,' he said, 'to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division among the classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people.' 'The Times' published this letter, along with an article objecting to it. Thereupon, according to Greville, 'Aberdeen sent for Delane, and told him that Peel considered the letter mischievous, but the article far more mischievous than the letter. In the course of this and other conversations he gave Delane to understand what his own opinions were, and told him pretty clearly what sort of a contest was going on in the cabinet.' A week later, on December 3,

Aberdeen again sent for Delane, and told him that at a cabinet meeting on the previous day Peel had threatened to resign unless he was allowed to have his way, and that this threat had induced the chief members, who had hitherto been obdurate, to yield. 'After his communication to Delane, Aberdeen asked him what he meant to do with what he had told him. "Publish it," he answered, "to be sure!"' Aberdeen had two motives for thus revealing an important cabinet secret to the editor of 'The Times.' As a free trader, he was anxious to force his colleagues to keep their word. As a foreign secretary, he was anxious to promptly conciliate the United States government with which he was then discussing the Oregon difficulty. 'Yesterday,' Greville wrote on the 5th, 'the American mail went off, and it took with it the morning papers, and, consequently, this article in "The Times." It was exactly what Aberdeen wanted. His most earnest desire is to get over the Oregon affair as well as he can, and he knows that nothing will have so great an effect in America, nothing tend so materially to the prevalence of pacific counsels, as an announcement that our corn-laws are going to be repealed.'[1]

The effects in England were more immediate. 'The whole town was electrified,' Greville reports, by the article in 'The Times' of December 4, 'announcing, with an air of certainty and authority, that the discussions and disputes in the cabinet had terminated by a resolution to call parliament together early in January and propose a total repeal of the corn laws, and that the duke had not only consented but was to bring forward the measure in the House of Lords. Nobody knew whether to believe this or not, though all seem staggered, and the more so because "The Standard," though affect-

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. i. pp. 310–313.

ing to disbelieve "The Times" and treating it as a probable fiction, did not contradict it from authority—as might naturally have been expected, if it had been untrue.'[1] 'The Morning Herald' gave a more emphatic contradiction next day; but 'The Times,' more than usually contemptuous in its references to Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Gamp, as it always called its morning and evening Tory contemporaries, reiterated its assertion on the 6th and again on the 8th. As we now know the contradiction was partly correct. The Earl of Aberdeen had misinformed Delane, or allowed him to misunderstand his statement. The cabinet, as a whole, had not agreed to Peel's proposal on the 3rd, the Duke of Wellington, who had lately joined the government as president of the council, as well as Lord Stanley, Lord Wharncliffe, and Lord Ripon, being obstinate; and Aberdeen had evidently hoped that the premature and inaccurate announcement in 'The Times' would force them to consent. As things turned out it led to a breaking up of the cabinet on the 5th when, Wellington and his allies refusing to sanction the reform, Peel had no option but to resign.

Neither of this, however, nor of its sequel was Delane informed by his friend in Downing Street. 'On Monday,' Greville wrote on December 9, 'I looked with anxiety for the article in "The Times," and found only a calm adhesion to its story. Delane had seen Aberdeen the evening before, who said to him that he had not said a bit too much, except that his statement the second day, that "the heads of the government had agreed," was more correct than that of the first, which said "the cabinet" had. He desired him to go on in the same strain, reasoning on it as a fact. He gave him, however, to understand that the publication had

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 309.

created considerable agitation. Delane in the course of conversation said that the whole thing turned on the Duke of Wellington, whether he was consenting or not, but Aberdeen would not tell him which way the duke was.' 'Wharncliffe,' Greville further reported, 'told me that Peel was very angry at the article in "The Times," and sent a messenger to the queen thereupon. There is no doubt that Delane in the excitement of the moment said more, much more, than he ought to have said, for the cabinet, so far from being agreed on a measure, was in a state of disagreement amounting almost to dissolution. Delane was very imprudent, for he might have guarded his statement, and yet produced precisely the same effect.' And on the 12th Greville added, 'Yesterday all was known. Peel had resigned on Saturday, but the ministers kept that secret; nor did Aberdeen tell Delane the state of the case. I suppose he was afraid to tell him any more.'[1]

Delane proceeded without ministerial guidance or misguidance. 'Yesterday morning,' wrote Greville on the 13th, 'I called on Wharncliffe, who was still ill in bed and very low. He complained of "The Times" for saying that the Duke of Wellington had broken up the government by changing his mind, first consenting and then withdrawing his consent; that "it was hard on the old man," who had behaved admirably throughout, never having flinched or changed, but he had said to Peel that he (Peel) was a better judge of this question than himself, and he would support him in whatever course he might take. I said "the old man" would probably not see the paper, and certainly not care a straw if he did. I told him everybody asked why they had resigned, and, when the day of explana-

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. pp. 315, 316.

tion came, that it would be difficult to give a satisfactory answer to the question. He said he thought so too; that he never could see any sufficient reason (it being now sufficiently clear that the supposed deficiency of food would furnish none); but that from the beginning Peel and Graham, especially Graham, had appeared panic-struck, and would hear no reasons against the course they had resolved upon; that Lord Heytesbury had contributed to this panic by his representations; that the original statement in "The Times" was the most extraordinary, because on the very day when it appeared, Thursday, the government was virtually broken up.[1] Peel resolved to repeal the corn laws, but only to attempt it provided he could do so with a unanimous cabinet. This he found was impossible, and that very Thursday he determined to resign. They begged him not to be in a hurry. He said he would not, and would take twenty-four hours to consider it. He did so, and on Friday he announced to his colleagues that he persisted in his resolution, and should go down the next day to Osborne to resign.'[2]

These details of gossip are interesting as showing, along with other things, the share which 'The Times' had in bringing about the abolition of the corn laws. Peel, Graham, Aberdeen, and others in the cabinet saw that the revolution could no longer be delayed, and that they had already delayed so long that Lord John Russell and the Whigs had stolen a march on them in yielding to Cobden and the repealers; but the Peel half of the cabinet was still haggling with the Wellington half, and likely to procrastinate till it was too late, when 'The Times' article of December 4 forced on an immediate settlement, which was all the more

[1] But only after *The Times* article had shattered it.

[2] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 318.

complete because it began with an alarming unsettlement.

What followed is matter of general history. After Peel's resignation on December 6 Russell tried to form a cabinet but failed, chiefly because Palmerston was a protectionist and declined to join him, and Peel became premier again on the 24th, with the Duke of Buccleuch—instead of Lord Wharncliffe, who had died in the interval—as lord president of the council, and with William Ewart Gladstone—instead of Lord Stanley, whose protectionism was steadfast, and who was presently to become Earl of Derby—as colonial secretary. In February 1846 Peel brought forward his great measure, during the long debate on which, as Greville said, 'the Liberals, while they support Peel, encourage and confirm the Tories in their indignation and resentment, and they abuse the government quite as lustily, not for what they are doing now, but for all they have been saying and doing for the last four years. The whole of the press takes the same line, the Tory and Whig papers naturally; and "The Times" chuckles and sneers, and alternately attacks and ridicules Whigs, Protectionists, and Peelites.'[1] On June 25 the Corn Bill obtained third reading in the House of Lords; but on the same night second reading was refused in the House of Commons to the Irish Coercion Bill by a majority of 292 to 219. The Tories hated Peel more than they loved oppression in Ireland, and in consequence of their spite Lord John Russell became prime minister in July.

With the new government 'The Times' promptly established relations similar, but in some respects different, to those it had maintained with the old one. Its great bugbear, Lord Palmerston, had succeeded

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 367.

Delane's chief patron, Lord Aberdeen, as foreign secretary, and it continued, though less violently, to oppose the Palmerstonian policy. Of Lord John Russell, moreover, it had no better opinion personally than of Peel; but there was fair excuse for its seeking an alliance with him, and this was done as soon as possible after the seals had been transferred.[1]

Changes had come about and were developing in the newspaper world, as part of the general growth of public opinion and its bearing on political and social affairs in which corn-law reform was but an incident. 'The Daily News' had been started as a bold exponent of Radicalism on all domestic if not on all foreign concerns; and 'The Morning Chronicle,' though more than ever a champion of Lord Palmerston's views, was losing influence, and had already ceased to be in any way recognised as the Whig organ.

Some curious illustrations of the rivalry between 'The Times' and 'The Chronicle,' which has been referred to in a former chapter, were noted down by Greville. 'On Friday morning,' he wrote on December 20, 1846, 'an article in "The Times" announced that the emperor of Russia was going to annex Poland to his empire, putting an end to the last vestige of Polish nationality. Yesterday morning "The Chronicle" declared this report was exaggerated, if not erroneous, and that all that was contemplated was the abrogation of custom-house regulations between the Russian and Polish frontiers. The history of these contradictory articles is this. On Wednesday at the cabinet dinner Palmerston brought this piece of news, communicated to him by Bunsen, who was in a great state of alarm and indignation, and said that Metternich was equally alarmed and eager to do something. The next morning

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. ii. p. 406.

Palmerston saw Brunnow, and asked him whether this story was true. Brunnow said he had never heard one word of it, and did not believe it. He had, however, written to Nesselrode to ask what the real truth was. Palmerston, without doubt, on this sent the article to "The Morning Chronicle"—there is a phrase at the end of it about Guizot quite Palmerstonian. It is amusing to see the two papers moved by different ministerial interests. John Russell told me at Windsor yesterday that he believed the first account.'[1] This account was probably inspired by Russell himself, or by Sir Charles Wood, the chancellor of the exchequer, who was one of Delane's new friends in office.

In January 1847 Greville went to Paris on an 'officious' mission to inquire into the feud then going on between Thiers and Guizot, who were severally supported in the English cabinet by Palmerston and Russell, and its bearings on British interests. '"The Times,"' he wrote on the 20th, 'has been writing articles abusing Palmerston and giving out that public opinion is all against him, and inclines to Guizot, doing all the mischief it can. These articles were received with a great deal of chuckling by Guizot and his people.' 'Yesterday morning,' he added on the 26th, '"The Morning Chronicle" came, with a bitter and violent article against Guizot's speech in the chamber. I found Guizot furious at this article, which he said he was sure had been dictated by Palmerston himself.' This partisanship gave great offence at home as well as abroad. 'Aberdeen is in a state of violent indignation at the brutal and stupid attacks on him in "The Morning Chronicle," which he attributes to Palmerston,' wrote Greville on February 3; 'and he is so provoked that he says he is disposed to bring on a foreign discussion

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part) vol. iii. p. 4.

after all, that he may vindicate himself.' And two years later, on January 19, 1849, we read: 'Palmerston has been dreadfully nettled at some recent attacks on him in "The Times." Charles Wood sent for Delane, and entreated him to desist from these bitter attacks, and he promised he would for the present; he said they had recorded their opinions and did not want to do any more.' For all that, 'there was an article in "The Times" on Thursday, in which, though there was no attack on Palmerston, who was not named, there was an allusion to former articles and to our conduct to Austria, which evidently rubbed on a sore place, for Charles Wood sent for Delane and expressed his regret that we were on such bad terms with Austria. Delane said he had all along been saying the same thing, when Charles Wood replied that he did not think we had *done* anything we could not justify and defend, but unfortunately Palmerston's manner of doing things and the language he employed had given great offence, and that it was much to be regretted that he had given advice and expressed opinions in so offensive a tone as he had done, especially to Austria.'[1] The scandal here particularly hinted at was one that 'The Times' had brought to light. It found that, with the connivance of Lord Palmerston, stores were being shipped from Woolwich for the use of the Sicilian insurgents, and for this breach of neutrality Lord John Russell, who was first informed about it by the newspaper article, caused an apology to be made.[2]

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. iii. pp. 39, 42, 52, 260, 261.

[2] 'Mr. Delane,' says Mr. Henry Reeve, 'knew Hood, the army contractor, a man who used to hunt with the old Surrey hounds, and by accident learnt from Hood all this story. *The Times* perceived the importance of it, and soon afterwards charged the government with having connived at a supply of arms from the queen's stores to the Sicilian insurgents. No notice was taken of this first charge. It was therefore

An important event in the history of 'The Times' occurred in 1847. 'Yesterday young Mr. Walter was brought to the office and introduced to me,' Greville reported on February 25. 'Old Walter is dying, and his son is about to succeed (in fact has succeeded) to the throne of "The Times," and to all the authority, influence, and power which the man who wields that sceptre can exercise. He seems mild, sensible, and gentlemanlike.'[1] The second John Walter died on July 28, at the age of sixty-three, having been the zealous manager of his paper, and something more, during nearly forty-four years. When he commenced his work 'The Times' was a small, four-paged sheet, printed by hand, with a circulation of barely more than 1,000 a day. When he left it, the eight large pages which were its normal size, contained at least six times as much matter as a copy of 1803, and these were often increased by pressure of advertisements or news to twelve, and sometimes sixteen pages, the printing being done by elaborate machinery, now greatly improved from the method invented by Koenig in 1814, and the circulation having been increased at least thirty-fold.

'The Times' had already become the most prosperous and influential paper in the world, and its success was mainly owing to Walter's enterprise as a man of rare business qualities, joined with no little political shrewdness. It was faulty in many ways, and its faults were partly due to Walter's own prejudices and to

repeated in stronger language. Upon this Lord John Russell (who knew nothing of the matter) took it up, and said he must inquire into it, and that the charge must be contradicted or the practice stopped. On inquiry he found it was all perfectly true, and he compelled Lord Palmerston, sorely against his will, to make a formal official apology to the King of Naples, the man whom he most hated and despised in the whole world.'—*Greville Memoirs* (Second Part), vol. iii. p. 272, note.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 64.

inclinations which his enemies denounced as sordid and unscrupulous. There was much, however, to be said in excuse, if not in justification, of the shiftings of policy for which 'The Times' was notorious, and it was aptly said by the writer of Walter's epitaph in his paper. 'He was ever ready'—we are there told—'to measure the most plausible schemes, the most popular opinion, the most promising experiments, the most dominant parties, the most powerful ministries, the most established reputations, the most inveterate usages, the most subtle advances, the most overbearing classes, the most formidable combinations. Whilst other men found a refuge for intellectual weakness or moral instability in pledging their faith to a statesman, a party, a theory, or a class, he never forgot that such things were made for man, not man for them. No sooner did he perceive that a party was irreclaimably selfish, or a minister irremediably committed to anti-national measures, to corrupt associations, or to an imbecile and therefore injurious policy—no sooner was it evident that the temptations incident to power had prevailed over the public spirit of the statesman, than he promptly and openly withdrew the support that had been tendered only for the public advantage. A slavish attachment to a man, or a clique, or a class, or a crotchet, he justly despised as the hollow and too often criminal consistency of fools and of knaves, whose whole and sole boast is that they have never, excepting by accident, done any good thing.'[1]

The third John Walter was twenty-nine when he succeeded to the chief proprietorship of 'The Times.' Elected member for Nottingham, on the day after his father's death, as 'a Liberal Conservative, advocating those measures which obtain the common support of moderate Whigs and moderate Tories,' he had much to

[1] *Times*, July 29, 1847.

occupy himself with besides the details of a newspaper office. He appears to have attended, during many years, with inherited intelligence and energy, to the business concerns, and especially to such mechanical improvements as experience and outside example suggested. In 1848 he introduced Applegarth's steam printing machinery, by means of which, using eight circular cylinders, 10,000 copies could be printed in an hour; and many other changes of this sort were due to his boldness and perseverance. The responsibility for all editorial arrangements, however, was probably left more than heretofore with Delane, who now, after six years' learning and practising of his craft, was, at the age of thirty, a thorough master of it.

Journalism had made considerable progress and been developed in many ways during these six years, and 'The Times,' with ampler space to fill and more money to spend than were available for any of its rivals, took the lead in nearly all other directions as well as in strictly political writing. The fresh competition of 'The Daily News,' after 1846, and the revived competition of 'The Morning Chronicle' for a few years after it became the Peelite organ in 1848, which stimulated even 'The Morning Post,' 'The Morning Herald,' 'The Standard,' and other papers to new exertions, was not allowed by 'The Times' to supersede it in any department of newspaper enterprise.

There has always been more effort at anonymity in 'The Times' than in most other papers, and, while Delane was fond of speaking of himself as 'the man who worked "The Times,"' the names of many of the most zealous workmen under him are hardly known, or, if known, it is only possible to assign to them in a few instances the special kind and quantity of work they severally contributed to the common or uncommon

stock. For nearly a quarter of a century after 1845 Delane's chief assistant in the editorship, and a frequent contributor of articles, was his college friend and brother-in-law, George Webbe Dasent; and conspicuous among his numerous leader writers in the early years of his rule were Horace Twiss, George Wingrove Cooke, Canon Moseley, Alexander Knox, and Gilbert a'Beckett, soon to be reinforced or replaced by Austin Henry Layard, Robert Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke), Matthew Higgins (best known as Jacob Omnium), Sidney Godolphin Osborne (best known as S. G. O.), and many others, including Charles Greville and his friend Henry Reeve, and even the Radical Roebuck. Samuel Phillips, some of whose articles were reprinted as 'Essays from "The Times,"' wrote much on literary and other subjects until his death in 1857, and John Oxenford was dramatic and musical critic for nearly thirty years after 1847, while Tom Taylor, who began newspaper work on 'The Morning Chronicle' and 'The Daily News,' joined the staff of 'The Times' not much latter as a writer on art and other matters. A more serviceable contributor than some of these was William Howard Russell, who began to work for Delane in 1843, when he was only twenty-two, and who went to Ireland in 1845 to furnish graphic accounts of the potato famine.

To all the social movements and disturbances of the stirring years of agricultural and industrial distress before and after the middle of the nineteenth century, of political agitation shown in such diverse enterprises as the Chartist propaganda and the work of the Anti-Corn-law League, of commercial recklessness, culminating in the railway mania, and so forth, 'The Times' paid quite as much attention as its contemporaries, its handling being often less generous or gushing than

that of some other commentators, but as much more thorough as its ampler space and resources allowed, and as was consistent with the position it claimed for itself as the great instructor and controller of public opinion and of legislative action thereon. It is especially to its credit that while the railway mania was growing, and till it collapsed, in 1846, 'The Times,' almost alone among the leading newspapers of the day, persistently and earnestly denounced the folly and crime that were thus being fostered, and this notwithstanding the temptations to which it was exposed of encouraging a craze, that, while it was at its height, added some 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* a week to its revenue from advertisements. Illustration of its good work in another way appeared in its employment of James Caird, who was assisted by John C. Macdonald, a young barrister of the Inner Temple, on a tour of inspection through all the agricultural districts, in order to inquire into the causes of the prevalent distress, which had been only alleviated by the reform of the corn laws, and to suggest remedies of more permanent efficacy than any that legislation could effect. Starting from Aylesbury in January 1850, travelling through all the southern, western, eastern, northern, and midland counties of England, and reaching Huntingdon in February 1851, Caird in the course of those thirteen months supplied fifty-one weighty letters to 'The Times,' which, with five others summing up his conclusions, in December 1851, were afterwards issued as a standard book on 'English Agriculture in 1850–51.' Other letters of great value came from him in later years; and Caird was only one of a crowd of writers on matters supplementary to the political questions of the hour.

'I remember, the first time I spoke in public after returning home from the continent in 1847,' said

Cobden in 1857, speaking at Manchester in support of John Bright's candidature, 'I took the opportunity of saying that the newspaper press of England was not free, and that the reformers of England ought to set about to emancipate it. Well, I got a most vicious article next day from "The Times" for that, and "The Times" has followed us both with a very ample store of venom ever since.' 'Any man,' he added, 'who has lived in public life as I have must know that it is quite useless to contradict any falsehood or calumny, because it comes up again next day just as rife as ever. There is "The Times" newspaper always ready to repeat it; and the grosser the better.'[1] 'My plan,' he declared in a letter to a friend in 1861, 'has always been to meet that journal with a bold front, and neither to give nor to take quarter. I may add that if ever I have succeeded in any public proceedings it has always been in spite of the opposition of that print. You may take my word for it, you never can be in the path for success in any great measure of policy unless you are in opposition to that journal.' And in another letter, addressed to a visitor from the United States, who had expressed surprise at the favours shown to Delane by political leaders and fashionable people, Cobden said, 'In America the editor or proprietor puts his name on the front of his paper, fights the battles of his party openly, shares in the honours of its victories, and is to be found among the senators, the governors of states, &c.; but with us the conductor of "The Times" preserves a strict incognito to his readers, on the plea that anonymous writing is necessary for preserving his independence, whilst he inconsistently drops the mask in the presence of those who dispense social distinctions and dispose of government patronage—the very per-

[1] *Richard Cobden's Speeches on Public Policy*, vol. ii. p. 77.

sons towards whom, in the interests of the public, he ought to preserve his independence.'[1]

Though there was some excuse for his injustice, Cobden was unjust to Delane. 'The Times' was as zealous as any Radical journal could be in advocating reforms, ferreting out abuses, and condemning those responsible for them; but it chose its own objects and methods, its own standpoints and lines of action, as it had a perfect right to do, and though we may think it mistaken we have no warrant for considering it dishonest. If it attacked Cobden and the Radicals ungraciously and unreasonably, it used language as strong about the Whigs and Tories, the aristocrats and the millionaires who felt themselves flattered by Delane's dining with them, and with whose opinions, sympathies, and prejudices, he was generally in accord.[2]

[1] John Morley, *Life of Richard Cobden*, chapter xxxii. 'He told his friends,' Mr. Morley says of Cobden, 'in scornful tones of the social deference that was paid in private by great people to the famous editor, and was scandalised, here also rather unreasonably, to find him dining at tables where every guest but himself was an ambassador, a cabinet minister, or a bishop.' 'The conductor of a newspaper,' as Mr. Morley rightly remarks, 'is entirely at liberty to choose what constituency he will attract. It pleased *The Times* at that day to domesticate itself, it was said, among the aristocracy. This may have been a very narrow and ignoble policy, but Mr. Delane had as much right to prefer to spend his evenings among dukes and bishops as Cobden to spend his among merchants and manufacturers.'

[2] Very curious illustration of the way in which the conductors of *The Times* attempted to control public opinion by dictating to other newspapers, as well as by 'thundering' in their own columns, is furnished in a letter addressed to him in March 1852, by Samuel Phillips, one of the assistant editors, which has been printed by Mr. William Hunt, who was at that time editor of *The West of England Conservative*. 'It is of the highest consequence,' Phillips wrote, 'that the Conservative press of England should speak in one tone, and with the same well-defined object. I take the liberty to point out to you the particular line which that press can now adopt with the greatest advantage to the common cause.' Then follow several paragraphs of instructions, including this: 'The great rallying cry of our party at the forthcoming election must be "The Institutions of England against the assaults of Democracy." Lord John

Ambitiously assuming to itself the right and power of saying what social and political changes were good for the community and how all the foreign, as well as all the domestic, affairs of the country should be carried on, 'The Times'—with more dignity than formerly, if often preposterously, and with variations of policy, in which, as a rule, the same or similar threads of principle may be discerned by impartial critics, but which to most onlookers presented many inconsistencies—maintained its independent attitude towards Lord John Russell's administration, which lasted till the beginning of 1852, and towards Lord Derby's short-lived ministry which succeeded it. When Lord Aberdeen took office, in December 1852, the critics of 'The Times,' like a good many others, found themselves in an awkward position. There were rival factions and divided counsels in the cabinet from the first, and a much stronger and more compact government might have found it impossible to face the foreign difficulties that, growing during several years, were now approaching a crisis. Delane had nearly always given a hearty support to Lord Aberdeen, but he now favoured a bolder handling of the Eastern question than the Peelites inclined to. He had almost uniformly assailed Lord Palmerston, but he now approved of the Palmerstonian tactics, which

Russell has proposed to carry reform much further than his lordship intended, provided Mr. Cobden will join him in opposition to her majesty's government. What this means we know, especially as Sir James Graham is invited into the firm. A ministry composed of Lord John, Graham, Bright, and Cobden can have but one leading idea. Every sacrifice must be made to prevent this catastrophe, and, therefore, let us stand boldly against destructive tendencies, as it becomes the instructors of the people and the lovers of their country. "Religion against latitudinarianism," "The Monarchy," "The Church and every cherished institution of the land against the flood of bitter animosity about to pour in upon them," "Stability against Anarchy," such be our proclamations!'—*Then and Now*, pp. 30-34.

Palmerston, good as a foreign secretary, if he was good at anything, was, in the home secretaryship, for which he was quite unfitted, ostensibly debarred from enforcing. Moreover, though he had for a long time been insisting on the increase of our armaments, in view of a war either with France or with Russia, Delane knew better than most men how unprepared we were for serious fighting. His embarrassments, therefore, as the would-be arbiter of the nation's destinies, and at the same time as the chief newspaper supporter of a coalition ministry made up of forces that could not possibly coalesce, were considerable.

They are illustrated by some passages in Greville's diary. 'The opposition papers, especially "The Morning Herald" and "The Press," Disraeli's new journal,' Greville wrote on June 22, 1853, 'have been making the most violent attacks on Aberdeen and Clarendon, calling for their impeachment on the ground of their conduct in this Eastern quarrel, particularly charging them with having been cognisant of, and approved of, Menschikoff's demands, which have occasioned all the hubbub. At last it was thought necessary to make a statement in reply, which was done by "The Times" on Thursday last. The article was a good one, but contained an inaccuracy about which Brunnow wrote a long but friendly letter of complaint to Clarendon. The day after this another article was inserted to set the matter right; but the explanations of "The Times" failed to stem the torrent of abuse, and the Tory papers only repeated their misrepresentations with greater impudence and malignity than before.' '"The Times" newspaper, always famous for its versatility and inconsistency,' we read three weeks later, on July 12, 'has lately produced articles on the Eastern question on the same day of the most opposite characters—one warlike

and firm; the next vehemently pacific, by some other hand. This is of small importance, but it is indicative of the difference which exists in the cabinet on the subject, and the explanation of the inconsistency of "The Times" is to be found in the double influence which acts on the paper. All along Palmerston has been urging a vigorous policy, and wished to employ more peremptory language and stronger measures towards Russia, while Aberdeen has been very reluctant to do as much as we have done, and would have been well content to advise Turkey to accept the last ultimatum of Russia, and so terminate what he considers a senseless and mischievous quarrel. Clarendon has had to steer between these two extremes, and, while moderating the ardour of Palmerston, to stimulate Aberdeen and persuade him to adopt a course more congenial to public opinion in this country, which, however inclined to peace and abhorrent of war, is not at all disposed to connive at the aggrandisement of Russia or to submit to the insolent dictation of the emperor. The majority of the cabinet have supported Clarendon, and approximate more nearly to the pacific policy of Aberdeen than to the stringent measures of Palmerston. When the two articles appeared in "The Times" to which I particularly allude, Clarendon approved of the first and found great fault with the other, while Aberdeen wrote to Delane and expressed his strong approbation of the second and his conviction that the public would sooner or later take the views therein set forth.' [1]

A more steady-going supporter of Lord Aberdeen's policy than 'The Times' was 'The Morning Chronicle,' still struggling on as an organ of the Peelite party, but with a very small circulation and therefore slighted by the Peelites in office. 'They are now popularly judged,'

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. pp. 70, 74.

Abraham Hayward wrote peevishly to his friend Sir John Young in October 1853, 'not by their own acts and despatches, but by the vacillating tone and occasionally unprincipled articles of "The Times." Lord Aberdeen in particular has suffered greatly from being everywhere identified with "The Times." '[1]

'The Times' certainly was not a safe friend to the Aberdeen government. It urged it to be bellicose, yet did all it could to discredit Lord Palmerston, who was its most warlike member. With reason, however, it resented the shilly-shallying conduct of ministers, and, holding that the quarrel with Russia could not be patched up, it was anxious to precipitate a crisis. With this object it put pressure on the French as well as on the English authorities, sneering at their irresolution and disclosing their secrets. 'Walewski,' wrote Greville on December 24, 'has been making a great flare-up about the article in "The Times," stating that Dundas wanted to pursue the Russian fleet after Sinope, and that Baraguay d'Hilliers put his veto on the operation. Clarendon assured him the statement was inserted without his privity, and he had nothing to do with it. Walewski then asked him to authorise a formal contradiction in "The Globe," or to let it be officially contradicted in "The Moniteur." Clarendon declined the first, and advised against the latter course. I offered to speak to Delane about contradicting it in "The Times"; which I afterwards did. He said the fact was true, and he had received it from various quarters, and it was useless to contradict it; but there was no reason "The Moniteur" should not do so if they liked; so I sent him to Clarendon to talk it over and settle what was to be done to smooth the ruffled plumage of the French.'[2]

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. i. p. 194.
[2] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. p. 119.

How little inclined 'The Times' was to smooth the ruffled plumage of either French or English may be seen from some sentences it published at the close of 1853. 'To bully the weak, to cajole the strong, to seize by force or to circumvent by fraud,' it was said, 'are now recognised as the uniform tactics of the once great upholder of order and treaties, and arbiter of the disputes of Europe. The combined governments of England and France have exhausted their diplomacy, their remonstrances, and their patience, and they now see themselves apparently reduced to the alternative of quitting for ever their high stations among the nations of the earth, forfeiting their promises and abandoning their allies, or having recourse to war—the sport of barbarous sovereigns, but the dread of free and progressive governments. There is no alternative. It is a decision. With whatever reluctance, the western powers must accept the challenge so insultingly flung at them.' 'We have not sought war,' it was added, 'we have done all in our power to avoid it; but, if it must come, we trust its evils and sacrifices will be cheerfully borne, as we are sure its perils will be manfully confronted.'[1]

War was not formally declared till March 28, 1854. But all preparations for it—or, so far as the English government was concerned, all the pretences in lieu of preparations—had been made long before. The preparations made by 'The Times' were far more enterprising than there was any precedent for, and their outcome, far greater than the projectors could have dreamt of, was indeed remarkable. It already had as its correspondent in Constantinople Thomas Chenery, a learned orientalist then in his twenty-eighth year, who had sent home letters about the preliminaries of the quarrel;

[1] *Times*, December 31, 1853.

and as soon as it had been arranged that a military and naval expedition should be sent to the Crimea, it selected for its special war correspondent—a term now first employed—William Howard Russell, who, after reporting the Irish potato famine in 1845 and 1846, had gone to Denmark as a 'Times' correspondent in 1848, and had done other work for the paper. 'I was with the first detachment of the British army which set foot on Turkish soil,' said Russell, 'and it was my good fortune to land with the first at Scutari, at Varna, and at Old Fort, to be present at Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, to accompany the Kertch and Kinburn expeditions, and to witness every great event of the siege, the assaults on Sebastopol and the battle on the Tchernaya. It was my still greater fortune to be able to leave the Crimea with the last detachment of our army.'[1] The vivid descriptions of what he saw during the memorable fifteen months thus occupied, printed in 'The Times' as they arrived by every mail, were altogether unique, and for straightforwardness and effectiveness have never been surpassed, or even equalled, by any subsequent imitations of them. They quickly raised the circulation of 'The Times' from about 50,000 to more than 70,000, and caused an increase of influence not to be measured by its circulation. That, however, was but a minor effect of the enterprise in which Russell so well succeeded.

His first letter home was written from Malta on March 6, and showed that he intended to be a critic as well as a chronicler. On April 8, when he reached Gallipoli, he began to point out faults and defects in the planning and carrying forward of the expedition, and in later letters he continued and improved in his self-appointed task, undeterred and only encouraged by the

[1] W. H. Russell, *The British Expedition to the Crimea*, preface.

efforts made to silence him. From Scutari he wrote on May 15: 'I have just seen a copy of "The Times" of April 28, containing a report of a discussion in the House of Lords in which the Duke of Newcastle, in reply to a question from the Earl of Ellenborough, denies repeatedly certain statements contained in my letter of April 10, respecting the arrangements for the reception of our troops in Gallipoli. The statements in question were not put forward by me as counts in an indictment; they were made in the discharge of my duty as recitals of matters of fact. They are true in letter and spirit, and notwithstanding all that passed in that debate, I beg once more to reiterate them from beginning to end.'[1] In that confident temper Russell persevered in his disclosures and complaints, praising as freely as he blamed wherever praise was deserved, and doing full justice to the bravery and endurance of officers and men as well as to whatever was good in the administrative arrangements; and in spite of all the efforts made to controvert his allegations, very few of them, and none that were important, were disproved.[2]

In order to see for himself how matters were going on, and perhaps to quiet some doubts in his own mind as to the accuracy of Russell's charges, Delane went to the Crimea in the autumn and passed some weeks there, his companion being Alexander William Kinglake, the author of 'The History of the Crimean War.' On his return, 'he made some strong charges against the government, and particularly Newcastle,' as Greville reported. 'He complained that after the expedition

[1] W. H. Russell, *The War* (a reprint of his letters from the Crimea to *The Times*), p. 61.

[2] It should be mentioned that *The Morning Herald* soon followed the example of *The Times*, and sent out Nicholas Augustus Woods as its special correspondent; and that before the close of the war several other papers had representatives on the spot.

was sent to the Crimea they remained idle, and made no attempt to form an army of reserve, or to send continual reinforcements to supply the casualties which everybody knew must occur ; and this is true. Again, he went to Newcastle, and urged him to make an immediate provision of wooden houses against the winter, which would in all probability be required, and he suggested that this should be done at Constantinople, where, all the houses being built of wood, and the carpenters very skilful, it might easily be done at a comparatively small expense, and whence the conveyance was expeditious and cheap. His advice was not taken ; nothing was done, and now that the winter is come, and the troops are already exposed to dreadful suffering and privation, the work is begun here, where it will cost four times as much and, when done, will require an enormous time to convey the houses to the Crimea, besides taking up the space that is urgently required for other purposes.' That was only a small part of Delane's complaining, and he did not confine it to private talk with ministers and friends. '"The Times," as usual,' Greville wrote on November 26, 'has been thundering away about reinforcements, and urging the despatch of troops that do not exist, and cannot be created in a moment. I had a great battle with Delane the other day about it, and asked why he did not appeal to the French government, who have boundless military resources, instead of to ours, who have none at all, and accordingly yesterday there was a very strong article, entirely about French reinforcements.'[1]

Russell's plain-speaking, and that of Delane's leader writers at home, naturally gave great offence to the authorities both in the Crimea and in England. Lord

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. p. 202.

Raglan, on November 13, reported that he had communicated with the correspondents of 'The Times' and other papers, and pointed out to them 'the public inconvenience of their writings, and the necessity of greater prudence in future'; and the Duke of Newcastle appealed to the patriotism of 'The Times' and other papers to abstain from publishing any intelligence from the seat of war, which could be 'considered calculated to furnish valuable information to the enemy.'[1]

It was this circular, with other efforts to gag the press, that provoked the scorn and sarcasm of men like Albany Fonblanque. 'The tables are turned,' Fonblanque said in 'The Examiner.' 'The accusers are accused. The press is the bane of the army in the Crimea. "Our own correspondents" have lied away the efficiency of the expedition, and made it falsely believe itself sick, weak, hungry, and naked. "The Times" has done it all. As a man may be made ill by telling him he is looking ill, so an army may be brought to death's door by representations of its jeopardy. . . . A slut, rebuked by her mistress for some dirty corner, replied tartly, "La, ma'am, it's not my fault, it's the nasty sun that comes shining into the place, and showing every speck." And this is the retort upon the press, which is charged with the guilt of making the very mischief which it exposes for the purposes of the correction. It is the nasty light, discovering blots and foul places. We wonder that we have not been told that the reason of the superior condition of the French army is not a better organisation and more active care, but simply the absence of a free press. If the charges against the press be true, the conductors of it concerned must be persons of a malignity strange, foul, and unnatural, for, according to the accusation, they are the instruments of

[1] Andrews, vol. ii. p. 331.

both truth and falsehood, with this detestable discrimination, that the truth is all for the service of the enemy, and the falsehood all for the discouragement of our troops and the disgrace of the country in the eyes of Europe. Thus it is said that the Russians have learnt to point their guns and shape their attacks from the English newspapers, so faithfully do they describe weak places in our lines; while, on the other hand, they as foully falsify the wisdom with which the affairs of the campaign are conducted by the able and active staff, whose merit is the everlasting and exclusive theme of Lord Raglan's praise. There is a little inconsistency in the handling of these two detestable faults, or, we should rather say, crimes.' [1]

But 'The Times' persevered in its condemnation of those who undertook to direct the Crimean war, and, doing much by its protestations and disclosures to overturn Lord Aberdeen's government, it was in no way injured by the wrath it brought upon itself from courtly critics. 'So far as I can collect,' Greville wrote on January 2, 1855, speaking, of course, for his own superior circle, 'the violent articles which "The Times" emits day after day have excited general resentment and disgust. They overdo everything, and while they are eternally changing their course, the one they follow for the moment they follow with an outrageous violence which shocks everybody. But as those who complain most of "The Times" still go on reading it, the paper only gets more rampant and insolent, for as long as its circulation is undiminished it does not care what anybody thinks or says of it.' [2] Its persevering exposure of the incompetency of Lord Raglan and his staff in the Crimea, and of the equal incompetency of Lord Aberdeen's

[1] *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, p. 454.
[2] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. p. 218.

ministry at home, brought 'general resentment and disgust,' not upon it, but upon the authors of the mischief and dishonour, and, at the threat of Roebuck's committee of inquiry, the government fell to pieces in January, to be replaced by Lord Palmerston's administration, formed and reformed in the course of February. More useful, however, than any changes 'The Times' procured in the composition of cabinets were the changes in military administration which more slowly resulted from its bold statements of facts, and its arguments thereon, chiefly supplied in Russell's letters from the seat of war.

Meanwhile good work had been done at the seat of war itself by the energy of 'The Times' in collecting by voluntary contributions a fund of 20,000*l.* to be expended in alleviating the miseries of the sick and wounded which had been to a large extent caused, and were in larger measure aggravated, by the neglect and blundering of the authorities both in England and in the Crimea. John C. Macdonald was employed to administer this fund, and, reaching Constantinople on November 7, 1854, he was promptly followed by Sidney Godolphin Osborne, and noble assistance was given to them by Florence Nightingale and her staff of nurses.[1] This bright chapter in the history of the Crimean campaign relieves, if by contrast it renders all the darker, its other and gloomy passages, and, along with Russell's rougher but not less chivalrous work, reflects great credit on Delane and the other potentates of 'The Times' for the new and patriotic developments of journalism which they initiated.

There was more and better occasion for boasting here than in the pretexts for public congratulation put forward by 'The Times' when the war was over.

[1] S. G. Osborne, *Scutari and its Hospitals*; Russell, *The War*, p. 288.

'Whatever be the losses and disappointments we have undergone,' it was said, 'whatever the reverses of our arms, whatever the drains upon our treasury, these evils have been as nothing compared with the tremendous visitation that has fallen on our stubborn and overbearing enemy. . . . There have not been wanting those who strove to persuade the masses that their blood and their treasure were being sacrificed for no adequate object, and that any concessions were better than perseverance in a war so unjust and unprofitable. But the clear instinct of Englishmen enabled them to see and feel that there was more at stake in the matter than their blind guides chose to admit, and to adhere to the cause they had taken up with a steadiness and pertinacity which put to shame the vacillating counsellors who first involved us in war and then told us that it was vain to contend with the manifest destiny that urged Russia on to the conquest of the East.'[1]

If 'The Times' had done much towards securing for the nation some advantage from the Crimean war and towards enforcing the hard and necessary lessons taught thereby, it had also done much towards bringing about the war and strengthening its delusions. But in this it was only true to its title, and no worse than a mouthpiece of the times. The third of a century that has since elapsed has not been long enough for full education of the nation in either the ethics or the economics of this and like questions.

While the war was in progress 'The Times' had courteously held aloof from a rather delicate controversy, carried on somewhat indelicately by several of its contemporaries. 'There has been,' Greville wrote on January 15, 1854, 'an extraordinary run against the court, more particularly against the prince, which is

[1] *Times*, December 31, 1855.

now exciting general attention, and has undoubtedly produced a considerable effect throughout the country. It began a few weeks ago in the press, particularly in "The Daily News" and "The Morning Advertiser," but chiefly in the latter, and was immediately taken up by the Tory papers, "The Morning Herald" and "The Standard," and for some time past they have poured forth article after article and letter after letter full of the bitterest abuse and all sorts of lies. "The Morning Advertiser" has sometimes had five or six articles on the same day all attacking and maligning Prince Albert. Many of these are very vague, but the charges against him are principally to this effect; that he has been in the habit of meddling improperly in public affairs, and has used his influence to promote objects of his own and the interests of his own family at the expense of the interests of this country; that he corresponds with foreign princes and with British ministers abroad without the knowledge of the government; and that he thwarts the foreign policy of the ministers when it does not coincide with his own ideas and purposes. Charges of this sort, mixed up with smaller collateral ones, have been repeated day after day with the utmost virulence and insolence by both the Radical and the Tory journals. Delane went to Aberdeen and told him that immense mischief had been done, and that he ought to know that the mischief produced was very great and general, and offered, if it was thought desirable, to take up the cudgels in defence of the court. Aberdeen consulted the prince, and they were of opinion that it was better not to put forth any defence or rebut such charges in the press, but to wait till parliament meets and take an opportunity to repel the charges there.' So 'The Times' was almost silent, and the controversy became less exciting before it could be dealt with in parliament.

'For some days past,' Greville reported on January 21, 'the Tory papers have relaxed their violence against the court, while the Radical ones, especially "The Morning Advertiser," have redoubled their attacks. There can be little doubt that the Tory leaders got alarmed and annoyed at the lengths to which their papers were proceeding, and have taken measures to stop them. The Radical papers nothing can stop, because they find their account in the libels: the sale of the "Advertiser" is enormously increased since it has begun this course, and, finding perfect immunity, it increases every day in audacity and virulence. One of the grounds of attack, in "The Morning Herald" and "The Standard" particularly, has been the illegality of the prince being a privy councillor. In reply to this I wrote a letter in my own name showing what the law and practice are.' Again, on January 25, 'I wrote a letter in "The Times," signed Juvenal, showing up the lies of "The Morning Advertiser" and how utterly unworthy of credit such a paper is.' Greville amused himself with the belief that he had thoroughly routed the enemies of Prince Albert without the intervention of Delane, except as printer of his letters, or of parliament. 'The attacks on the prince are subsiding,' he wrote on January 29, 'except from "The Morning Advertiser," which goes doggedly on in spite of its lies being exposed.' [1]

When parliament met 'The Times' was ill-rewarded for its amiability in keeping out of a dispute on which

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. pp. 126–131. The matter was discussed in both houses on January 31. 'Derby was put into a great rage by Aberdeen's speech,' says Greville, 'and could not resist attacking *me* (whom he saw behind the throne). He attacked my letter in which I had pitched into the Tories for their attacks on the prince. I saw his people turn round and look towards me, but I did not care a fig, and was rather pleased to see how what I wrote had galled them and struck home.'

its readers must have expected it to say something. 'There is always great anxiety on the part of the press to get the queen's speech,' Greville remarked on February 2, 'so as to give a sketch of it the morning of the day when it is made, and those who do not get it are very jealous of those who do. There has been great bother about it on some former occasions, once particularly, because one of the Derbyites gave it to their paper, "The Morning Herald," it having been communicated in strict confidence, and according to recent custom, to the leaders of the party. The other day Aberdeen refused to give it even to "The Times," and of course to any other paper, and he begged Palmerston not to send it to "The Morning Post," which is notoriously his paper. Nevertheless the speech appeared in "The Times," and, what seemed more extraordinary, in "The Morning Advertiser," the paper which has been the fiercest opponent of the government and the most persevering and virulent of the assailants of the prince. Delane has friends in all parties, and he told me he had no less than three offers of it, and therefore he had no difficulty. But how did "The Morning Advertiser" come by it?'[1] That 'The Advertiser,' whose editor, James Grant, never dined with dukes, bishops, or privy councillors, should be as successful as he was in the scramble for early copies of the queen's speech was a real grievance to Delane.

During 1854 'The Times' quarrelled with Lord Aberdeen's government on many other matters besides the Crimean War, and it was especially spiteful against two of its members, Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. Palmerston it continued to hate in spite of his bellicose zeal; Russell it despised on account of his alleged treachery to his colleagues and truckling to

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. p. 134.

the Radicals. It summed up the history of this year's parliamentary session by describing it as 'a most abortive expenditure of labour and ability,' in the course of which ministers, 'by insisting upon forcing measures on the attention of an unwilling house, exposed themselves to a series of mortifying and damaging defeats.'[1]

When Palmerston formed an administration of his own in February 1855, with Russell soon to take office under him as colonial secretary, 'The Times,' though it gradually changed its tone, began by being more violent than ever. '"The Times" is going into furious opposition,' Greville wrote on the 17th, 'and Palmerston will soon find the whole press against him, except his own paper, "The Morning Post," and "The Morning Chronicle," neither of which has any circulation or any influence in the country. The whole conduct of "The Times" is a source of great vexation to me, for I am to the last degree shocked and disgusted at its conduct and the enormous mischief that it is endeavouring to do; and I have for many years had personal relations with its editor which I do not well know how to let drop, and I am at the same time not satisfied that their unbroken maintenance is consistent with the feelings I entertain, and which ought to be entertained, towards the paper.'[2]

Poor Greville, originally a Tory who followed Canning and, becoming a Peelite, settled down as a Palmerstonian, did not break with Delane, and after a time he read 'The Times' with satisfaction again; but he was very unhappy in this February of 1855, and, as he said, 'for the first time in his life really and seriously alarmed at the aspect of affairs.' 'The press, with "The

[1] *Times*, December 31, 1854.
[2] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. p. 242.

Times" at its head, is striving to throw everything into confusion, and running amuck against the aristocratic element of society and of the constitution. The intolerable nonsense and the abominable falsehoods it flings out day after day, are none the less dangerous because they are nonsense and falsehoods, and backed up as they are by all the regular Radical press, they diffuse through the country a mass of inflammatory matter, the effect of which may be more serious and arrive more quickly than anybody imagines. Nothing short of some loud explosion will make the mass of people believe that any serious danger can threaten a constitution like ours, which has passed through so many trials and given so many proofs of strength and cohesion. But we have never seen such symptoms as are now visible, such a thorough confusion and political chaos, or the public mind so completely disturbed and dissatisfied and so puzzled how to arrive at any just conclusions as to the past, the present, or the future. People are furious at the untoward events in the Crimea, and cannot make out the real causes thereof, nor who is to blame, and they are provoked that they cannot find victims to wreak their resentment on. The dismissal of Aberdeen and Newcastle seems an inadequate expiation, and they want more vengeance yet: hence the cry for Roebuck's absurd committee. Then, after clamouring for Palmerston from a vague idea of his vigour, and that he would do some wonderful things, which was founded on nothing but the recollection of his former bullying despatches and blustering speeches, they are beginning to suspect him; and the whole press, as well as the malignants in the House of Commons, tell them that they have gained very little, if anything, by the change, and they are told that it is not this or that minister who can restore

our affairs, but a change in the whole system of government, and the substitution of plebeians and new men for the leaders of parties and members of aristocratic families, of whom all governments have been for the most part composed. What effect these revolutionary doctrines may have on the opinions at large remains to be seen; but it is evident that "The Times," their great propagator, thinks them popular and generally acceptable, or they would not have plunged into that course.'[1]

Greville's fears were not realised, and the hopes of the Radicals were disappointed. 'The Times' was only revolutionary within narrow limits, and the true revolutionists got but slight and temporary help from it. Such as it was, however, the help was useful; and Greville's views about the functions of the press in relation to aristocracy and democracy, as he understood the terms and the realities represented by them, and to the new conditions of government and national well-being which were quickened by the Crimean war and its concomitants, are eminently suggestive.

'The Times' suffered by its early opposition to Lord Palmerston's government, in which Lord Clarendon was foreign secretary and Sir William Molesworth colonial secretary, until his death in October 1855, and by the coolness between Delane and Greville, with whom Henry Reeve was in close sympathy. 'Since "The Times's" breach with Lord Clarendon and Reeve,' Abraham Hayward wrote to Gladstone on January 2, 1856, 'they are no longer so well up in information as they used to be. Molesworth is another loss to them. In Scotland and the far north,' he added, 'the cheap papers have gained enormously on the London press; but this is more owing to the telegraph

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. p. 243.

than to the reduction of the duty. Within a given radius round Aberdeen, for example, you get all the most interesting news twenty-four hours before the arrival of a London paper. I myself actually ceased taking in a London paper whilst I was in Scotland.'[1] Whence it appears that other changes, presently to be noted, were taking place both in the relations of 'The Times' with its London rivals, and in those of the London journals with the country at large. 'The Times' was losing its supremacy.[2]

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. i. p. 270.

[2] Readers of Anthony Trollope's novel, *The Warden*, which was published in 1855, need hardly be reminded of its good-natured mockery of Delane as Tom Towers, and of *The Times* as *The Jupiter*.

CHAPTER XX.

'THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.'

1849—1861.

DEMAND for removal of what were conveniently, though not quite accurately, known as 'the taxes on knowledge' followed as a matter of course upon the yielding of parliament in 1846 to the more urgent demand for removal of the taxes on the chief article of food. The reduction of the advertisement duty in 1833 from three shillings and sixpence to eighteenpence had been accepted as an insufficient boon by newspaper proprietors and the small proportion of the community which had much occasion for advertising and at the same time considered it important that the charge for each advertisement should be two shillings less than it had hitherto been. The reduction of the newspaper stamp in 1836 from fourpence, with a discount of twenty per cent., to a penny had hardly been regarded as a boon at all by the proprietors, who were constrained to give their readers nearly all the advantage of the change, or by the great majority of people who, wanting really cheap newspapers, found that, in most cases, they still had to pay as much as fivepence or sixpence, in lieu of sevenpence, for each copy. And the lowering of the paper duty, also in 1836, though a substantial boon to both sellers and buyers, had so little appreciable effect, and worked so slowly, that it was almost lost sight of by those who

profited by it. These three fiscal changes, together and separately, were of immense benefit and contributed largely to the growth and improvement of journalism during the ensuing twenty years, of which we have seen something. Quite as much if not more of the growth and improvement was due, however, to the general spread of education and enlightenment, political and social, for which those twenty years were remarkable, and a new generation had grown up which could not be expected to be satisfied with the boons, such as they were, bestowed on a former generation. The reformers who overthrew the corn laws were not slow in recognising and encouraging its discontent.

'So long as the penny lasts,' Cobden said in 1850, with reference to the newspaper stamp, 'there can be no daily press for the middle or working class. Who below the rank of a merchant or wholesale dealer can afford to take in a daily paper at fivepence? Clearly it is beyond the reach of the mechanic and the shopkeeper. The result is that the daily press is written for its customers—the aristocracy, the millionaires, and the clubs and news-rooms. The great public cannot have its organs of the daily press, because it cannot afford to pay for them. The dissenters have no daily organ for the same reason. The governing classes will resist the removal of the penny stamp, not on account of the loss of revenue—*that* is no obstacle with a surplus of two or three millions—but because they know that the stamp makes the daily press the instrument and servant of the oligarchy.'[1]

Three wars had to be waged—one for abolition of the compulsory stamp, one for repeal of the advertisement tax, and one for removal of the duty on paper—before the fiscal obstacles to 'a free press' were over-

[1] John Morley, *Life of Cobden*, ch. xxxii.

the victories being separately won, there was not complete agreement of interests among those who fought in them; but they were all parts of the same movement, and all were included in the scheme of the Association for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, which was established in 1849 with Milner Gibson for its president, Richard Moore for its hard-working chairman, and Charles Dobson Collett for its indefatigable secretary. This association grew out of a Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee appointed by the People's Charter Union, and was thus a direct and most welcome ramification of the Chartist movement. More limited in its scope, but working in harmony with that body, was the London Committee for Obtaining the Repeal of the Duty on Advertisements, also founded in 1849, which had John Francis, the publisher of 'The Athenæum,' for its most active member, and William Ewart for its president, and which, after its first undertaking had been achieved, was reconstructed as the Newspaper Press Association for Obtaining the Repeal of the Paper Duty.

Both these organisations worked vigorously in issuing pamphlets, collecting signatures to parliament, and interviewing ministers and officials; and the whole question was raised in the House of Commons on April 16, 1850, when Milner Gibson brought forward a series of resolutions condemning the duty on paper, the compulsory newspaper stamp, the advertisement tax, and the duty on imported books. He adduced the difficulties of paper-makers like Baldwin and Crompton, and of publishers like the brothers Chambers and Charles Knight, in providing, or obtaining material for producing, such cheap literature as the public required, and he showed to what hardships regular papers like 'The Daily News' were exposed in competition with publica-

tions not ostensibly giving news, like 'The Athenæum,' and 'The Builder,' which were allowed to be issued without stamps, and yet more with coarser weeklies, like 'The Town,' 'Paul Pry,' and 'Sam Sly,' which lived by libels and scurrility, having full license to comment upon facts and circulate scandalous fictions so long as they reported no actual news. He was supported by Ewart, Hume, Roebuck, and other Radicals, and also by Disraeli, who found it convenient for party purposes to give utterance to what were doubtless his real opinions on the matter. He was opposed, however, by Sir Charles Wood, the chancellor of the exchequer, who declared that it would be 'an act of political suicide' to surrender the income, amounting in 1849 to 1,329,000*l.*, derived from these several duties, and by Lord John Russell, the premier, who deprecated any change that would be likely to assimilate the English to the continental press. 'He was told,' said Lord John, 'that for a halfpenny they might obtain in Paris a newspaper full of the most infamous epigrams and the cleverest writing, together with the intelligence of the day. Schoolmasters were spread throughout France, but, unfortunately, a great part of the newspapers contained attacks not merely on the government of the day, but on all government; they were newspapers that endeavoured to make government impossible, and schoolmasters that endeavoured to make religion odious'; and he could give no countenance to plans for encouraging any such abominations as popular newspapers or popular education in England. Accordingly Milner Gibson's first motion, 'that such financial arrangements ought to be made as will enable parliament to repeal the excise duty on paper,' the only one then put to the vote, was defeated by a majority of 190 to 89. Yet more overwhelming was the majority of

208 to 39 against a motion brought forward by Ewart three weeks later, on May 7, for repealing the advertisement tax.[1]

No attempt was made in 1851 to reverse these decisions of the House of Commons; but in April of that year Milner Gibson obtained the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the working of the Newspaper Stamp Act. Mowbray Morris, the manager of 'The Times'; Knight Hunt, the sub-editor of 'The Daily News'; Alexander Russel, the editor of 'The Scotsman'; Michael James Whitty, the proprietor of 'The Liverpool Journal'; and some thirty others were examined, and a valuable mass of evidence was collected. 'Your committee,' it was said in the summary of the report, 'consider it their duty to direct attention to the objections and abuses incident to the present system of newspaper stamps, arising from the difficulty of defining and determining the meaning of the term "news"; to the inequalities and evasions that it occasions in postal arrangements; to the unfair competition to which stamped newspapers are exposed with unstamped publications; to the limitation imposed by the stamp upon the circulation of the best newspapers; and to the impediments which it throws in the way of the diffusion of useful knowledge regarding current events among the poorer classes, and which species of knowledge, relating to subjects which most obviously interest them, calls out the intelligence by awakening the curiosity of those classes. How far it may be expedient that this tax should be maintained as a source of revenue, either in its present or in any modified form, your committee do not feel themselves called upon to state. Other considerations, not within their province, would enter into

[1] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (Third Series), vol. cx. cols. 361–422, 1238–1244.

that question. But, apart from fiscal considerations, they do not consider that news of itself is a desirable subject of taxation.'[1]

The arguments and evidence of this parliamentary committee were confirmed by a trial that attracted much attention in 1851. As a supplement to his weekly 'Household Words,' which was strictly a magazine, Dickens had started a monthly 'Household Narrative of Current Events,' which, after it had been running some time, he was forbidden to issue without its being stamped as a newspaper. Dickens's publishers, Bradbury and Evans, resisted this order, and after prolonged litigation, when the case was brought before the Court of Exchequer in November, three judges declared that 'The Household Narrative' need not be stamped, while one was of an opposite opinion. Dickens accordingly persevered, and, to relieve him and others like him from uncertainty, a bill was introduced in the House of Commons on December 6, 1852, exempting all monthly publications, whether containing news or not, from the requirements of the Newspaper Stamp Act. Lord Derby's administration was, however, soon afterwards overthrown, and the project lapsed with it.[2]

Earlier in 1852, on April 22, Milner Gibson had quoted Dickens's case, and some more glaring instances of the arbitrariness and confusion of the law, when he again urged parliament to abolish not only the stamp duty, but also the paper duty and the advertisement tax. The vigorous debate that ensued lasted the whole evening and was concluded on May 12. Cobden spoke forcibly in condemnation of the 'taxes on knowledge.' 'The penny stamp,' he said, 'is a stamp impeding the

[1] *Reports of House of Commons Committee*, 1851, vol. xvii.
[2] Hansard, vol. cxxiii. col. 1045.

communication of modern history, for the facts of the newspapers are the facts which interest and affect and govern us all, and that stamp is the greatest obstacle to intelligence in this country.' Ewart, Hume, Ricardo, Cowan, and others argued to the same effect; but Disraeli, at that time chancellor of the exchequer and not free to speak his mind, justified the taxes as 'necessary evils'; and Gladstone, though saying that, when the proper time arrived, he should like to see the paper duty abolished, maintained that if newspapers and books were dearer than they ought to be, the blame was not so much with fiscal requirements as with the trades unionism which wickedly raised the wages of compositors and others to a level far above their deserts. If the working classes wanted cheap literature, Gladstone then thought, they had a sufficient remedy in their own hands, as they could themselves cheapen the labour by which the literature was produced. Views of that sort, and the prejudices of a House of Commons which clamoured for a war with Russia, prevailed over the common sense of the Cobdenites; and Milner Gibson's three motions in favour of repeal of the paper duty, the stamp duty, and the advertisement duty, were severally defeated by majorities of 195 to 107, 199 to 100, and 181 to 116.[1]

Those figures—showing a balance of only 65 votes in favour of the advertisement tax, whereas the balances in favour of the compulsory stamp and the paper duty were 99 and 88—reasonably led the reformers to direct their attention especially, in the first instance, to the reform most likely to be carried. The agitation, kept up by meetings, deputations, and petitions, during the autumn of 1852 and the following winter, aimed chiefly at getting the advertisement tax repealed. This, more-

[1] Hansard, vol. cxx. cols. 983–1027.

over, though the least important of the three, was the reform that obtained most general support from the newspaper proprietors and the influential portion of the community. Well-to-do people cared little for the prospect of having to pay only fourpence instead of fivepence for their papers, and many of them dreaded the prospect of a really cheap press springing up and, as they thought, flooding the country with sedition; but they could see nothing but benefit in a lowering of the charges for advertisements. And some of the high-priced journals, particularly 'The Times,' 'The Illustrated London News,' and 'The Weekly Dispatch,' encouraged them in these views. The penny stamp enabled any paper bearing it to go free by post, and its removal would therefore be no gain to country subscribers. Accordingly, though the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge Association abandoned no part of its programme, it consented to place the advertisement question before the others, and when Milner Gibson again brought forward his three resolutions in the House of Commons, on April 14, 1853, their order was changed.

Lord Aberdeen was then premier, with Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer; and the great financier declared himself unable to dispense with the 180,000*l.* or so that the advertisement tax yielded. 'The government,' he said, 'had no wish to retain, and could not retain, any restraint whatever upon the press for the sake of restraint.' 'Freedom of the press was not merely to be permitted and tolerated, but to be highly prized, for it tended to bring closer together all the national interests and to preserve the institutions of the country.' 'He should be delighted to see the day when the duty on newspapers might be removed.' But that day was not yet, and he must move the

previous question. Both Bright and Cobden spoke at length in support of the motion, and insisted that it was incumbent on a government which professed to have a regard for popular education, and which found it easy to raise money for wasteful armaments, to relieve the nation of burdens so manifestly oppressive as were these 'taxes on knowledge'; but the most effective champion of the reform, so far as the advertisement duty was concerned, was Disraeli, who asserted that, had he remained in office long enough, he should most certainly have devised a plan for meeting this reasonable demand. Disraeli's speech secured for Milner Gibson the Conservative vote, and on the first resolution, 'that the advertisement duty ought to be repealed,' the government was defeated by 200 to 169, a majority of 31: The other two motions were rejected by crushing majorities, that against the compulsory stamp by 182, and that against the paper duty by 199; but the advertisement tax was doomed. On July 1 Gladstone proposed as a compromise that, instead of abolishing the tax, it should be reduced from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 6*d.*, in the hope that, by the consequent lowering of the cost of advertisements, their number would be so much increased as still to yield a respectable revenue; but he was again defeated, this time by a majority of only 5 in a small house. A bill to carry out the double verdict was accordingly introduced, and the advertisement tax ceased to exist on August 4, 1853.[1]

The second and more important victory followed more quickly than might have been anticipated. Dickens's triumph over the stamp commissioners as regarded his 'Household Narrative' had led to other publications of the same class, which it was the wise policy of the Taxes on Knowledge Repeal Association

[1] Hansard, vol. cxxv. cols. 1116–1187; vol. cxxviii. cols. 1091–1129.

to encourage. The secretary of that association, Collett, himself started one such, 'The Stoke-upon-Trent Narrative of Events,' and the repeated prosecutions of these sheets, as in the case of the publications of Hetherington and his associates a quarter of a century before, caused so much irritation that the authorities soon saw that it would be prudent to give way. A small measure, similar to that introduced by Disraeli in 1852, exempting all monthly publications from the requirements of the Stamp Act, was passed in August 1853, and was the prelude to a much larger concession.

On May 16, 1854, Milner Gibson's proposal for newspaper tax reform was repeated in an improved shape, so cleverly contrived that few could object to it. His motion was, 'that it is the opinion of this house that the laws in reference to the periodical press and newspaper stamp are ill defined and unequally enforced, and it appears to this house that the subject demands the early attention of parliament'; and after Bright, Hume, Ewart, and the other champions of reform had reiterated their arguments, the House of Commons adopted the resolution without a division.[1]

How well prepared the country was for a change is shown by the fact that even 'The Times' now and then humoured its readers by endorsing the popular cry. 'With all our talk about knowledge, about the achievements of science, about education, schools, churches, enlightenment, and heaven knows what not,' it admitted on the morning after Milner Gibson's motion had been agreed to, 'there is something positively ridiculous in taxing that intelligence which really constitutes the great medium of a civilised country. We make a great stir about teaching everybody to read, and the state—that is, the nation—pays a quarter

[1] Hansard, vol. cxxxiii. cols. 419-460.

of a million a year in teaching children to do little more than read. Then we proceed to tax the very first thing that everybody reads. In this way the newspapers pay for the education of the country, for they find their expenses aggravated and their circulation restricted by an impost about equal to the sum spent in educating the masses. But we have several times enlarged on the absurdity of a tax which, as it is a tax on news, is a tax on knowledge, and is thus a tax on light, a tax on education, a tax on truth, a tax on public opinion, a tax on good order and good government, a tax on society, a tax on the progress of human affairs, and on the working of human institutions.'[1]

But though 'The Times' occasionally insisted on the repeal of the compulsory stamp, it generally took the opposite view, which was in accordance both with the class prejudices it supported and with its own particular interests. With a single impressed stamp for a penny, and an additional halfpenny stamp for a supplement when one was issued, 'The Times' could go post free all over the country, and even make several journeys from place to place, whereas, unless the postal arrangements were also altered, the affixed stamps necessary to cover a single postage would cost far more than the amount then charged. This, as Milner Gibson and his friends alleged, was one of the unfair advantages over other newspapers enjoyed by 'The Times,' and it was openly and unwisely adduced by them as one of their reasons for demanding a change in the law. 'The Times,' they urged, was a huge monopolist, using and abusing its authority and influence in propounding mischievous doctrines, and especially mischievous just now by its encouragement of the war fever that was afflicting the country. Therefore, anything

[1] *Times*, May 17, 1854.

that could be done to weaken and damage 'The Times' must be a public service. It was this indiscreet contention, and the rumour that it was approved by the government, which had reasons of its own for not being sorry to injure 'The Times,' that prompted Albany Fonblanque to write one of his witty articles in 'The Examiner.' 'Some years ago,' he said, 'the cry was that the power of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. It is held now in certain quarters, high and low, that the power of the press has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. The chief offender in this case being "The Times," it is proposed, at the particular desire of several persons in Manchester, to take measures to compass the destruction of the said "Times," or at least to cripple it very considerably. But why do this in a roundabout way, involving in the injury other properties that are not obnoxious either to Manchester or to Downing Street? Why not set about the object frankly, fairly, and directly? Why not bring in a bill of pains and penalties, setting forth the inordinateness of the power of "The Times," and that no ministry is safe under it, and enacting what may be thought calculated to render it less formidable? . . . Charles Lamb tells us of a sage people who burnt down a house whenever they wanted to roast a pig. We deprecate setting fire to the entire press for the sole and separate purpose of doing "The Times" brown. . . . Once upon a time, as Rabelais prefaces, when beasts could speak, it was thought a most meritorious action to slay a giant; and there is prevalent the same opinion now as to the giant of the press, which is deemed too big to be permitted to live, especially with the prospect of growing still bigger. There is not room enough in this broad land for both government and "The Times," and, as we must have

a government, however bad, we must not have a "Times," however good. Haman cannot suffer Mordecai in the gate. An old fable tells us of an ill-favoured youth who was so displeased with his looking-glass that he dashed it to the ground and shivered it to a hundred fragments; but, seeing his ugly features in each of the broken bits, he found he had made the matter a hundred times worse, and bitterly lamented that he had changed the single unflattering reflection for the multiplied. Such is the exact illustration of what the government is about in compassing small change for "The Times." To kill the giant is all very fine, but it is not always pleasant to live with dwarfs.'[1]

There can be small doubt that the authorities were more inclined to abolish the compulsory stamp by jealousy of 'The Times' than by sympathy with the Manchester Radicals, but the change was inevitable after the resolution adopted by the House of Commons in May 1854, and, the Aberdeen government being defeated while Gladstone was leisurely preparing to act upon his instructions, the task was cheerfully taken in hand by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who succeeded to the chancellorship of the exchequer under Lord Palmerston. On March 19, 1855, he introduced a bill rendering it optional for every newspaper to issue all or any of its copies either stamped or unstamped, the stamped copies being allowed the same privileges as heretofore in transit through the post; and he pointed out that though by this change there would be a risk of the revenue suffering to the extent of 400,000*l.* a year, the amount which the stamp duty then realised, it might be expected that at least half of the newspapers published would still go through the post, and thus, even if there was no increase consequent on the

[1] *Life and Labours of Albany Fonblanque*, p. 458.

reform, would yield a revenue of not less than 200,000*l.* Almost the only objection offered to the proposal at this stage came from Gladstone and Milner Gibson, who protested against a huge paper like 'The Times,' weighing on an average six ounces, going through the post for a penny, while the charge for the postage of any printed matter not registered as a newspaper was left at twopence if its weight exceeded half an ounce. That complaint was heeded, and on June 6, 1855, nine days before the new Newspaper Stamp Bill became law, a treasury order was issued allowing four ounces of printed matter to pass through the post for a penny; and this in itself was no small boon to the public and the publishing trade, though not affecting registered newspapers.

'I am quite satisfied, from years of attention to the subject,' Bright said, in supporting Cornewall Lewis's bill, 'that there never was so large a measure involved in a small measure, so to speak, as is the case with regard to this proposition for making the press free. I am willing to rest on the verdict of the future, and I am quite convinced that five or six years will show that all the votes of parliament for educational purposes have been as mere trifles compared with the results which will flow from this measure, because, while the existing papers retain all their usefulness, it will call to their aid numbers of others not less useful, and, while we enjoy the advantage of having laid before us each morning a map of the events of the world, the same advantage will be extended to classes of society at present shut out from it.'[1]

In that speech Bright referred to the 'Times' article of May 1854 which has been quoted from, but said he should not be surprised if 'The Times' of the

[1] Hansard, vol. cxxxvii. cols. 774–814.

next morning contained an article of opposite purport. His anticipation was correct. The next morning's 'Times' angrily condemned the bill as a treacherous expedient for weakening its position and encouraging cheap and dishonest rivals that would thrive by stealing the information it collected and published at great expense. 'What the London papers have to expect,' it was urged, 'is that in the metropolis, and still more in the manufacturing districts, there will be published early in the day, and circulated by private hands, a cheap class of papers giving all the news which *we* believe to constitute our principal attraction, and to obtain which we spend immense sums of money. The chancellor of the exchequer is above this vulgar appetite for news. He has no relish for an event until it has been five years in the wood, and as many in the bottle. But we must beg to assure him that the people of England are actually impatient for news, and would rather it were not even a day old. So we can easily conceive that it will answer the purpose of enterprising gentlemen to republish our news in a cheap form by ten o'clock for the metropolitan circulation, and two and four o'clock for the provincial districts.' [1]

Neither all the fears of 'The Times' nor all the hopes of John Bright were destined to be realised; but mighty changes were effected by the adoption of Sir George Cornewall Lewis's Newspaper Stamp Bill. When it was brought forward for second reading on March 26, it was opposed by Disraeli, but it was approved by Bulwer Lytton and other Tories, and agreed to by a majority of 215 to 161. During its passage through committee it was sharply criticised by Lowe and other writers on 'The Times,' especially with reference to the dangers of copyright matter being

[1] *Times*, March 20, 1855.

pirated, but it was approved by both Houses of Parliament, and it became law on June 15, 1855.[1]

When the Newspaper Act of 1855 came into operation 'The Times' had an average circulation of about 60,000, nearly thrice as much as that of 'The Morning Advertiser,' 'The Daily News,' 'The Morning Herald,' 'The Morning Post,' 'The Morning Chronicle,' and 'The Public Ledger,' all massed together. The new law, and the abolition of the paper duty, which occurred six years later, produced a wonderful variation in the relative positions of some of these papers, and brought fresh rivals into the field, and they caused yet greater revolution and progress in the country than in London. About the most remarkable aspects of these developments notice will be taken presently. Here it will suffice to say a little about the chief competitors of 'The Times' at the stage we have now reached.

Among these 'The Morning Advertiser' had the largest circulation, in consequence of the rule which made every member of the Licensed Victuallers' Society a subscriber to it, and which thus ensured its admission to nearly every public-house. Zealously edited at this time by James Grant, it catered well for the large class to whom it particularly addressed itself, but it was a great deal more than a mere trade journal. Though not really so Radical as 'The Daily News,' it was often bolder in its attacks on both Whig and Tory politicians, on the court and courtiers, and its style of writing was well suited to the tastes of the great mass of its readers.

In the editorship of 'The Daily News,' William

[1] Hansard, vol. cxxxvii. cols. 1109–1167, 1658–1689, 1978–2035; vol. cxxxviii. cols. 183–198, 442–454, 2003. It will be sufficient here to note that the impressed stamp, the use of which for postal purposes was optional until 1870, was then abolished, newspapers being allowed to pass through the post with a halfpenny affixed stamp.

Weir, its chief authority on railway and commercial affairs from the first, succeeded Knight Hunt in 1854, and he held the office until he died in 1858. An able and honest man, Weir was somewhat narrow in his views, and the deafness with which he was afflicted was a serious obstacle to such personal communications with others as were necessary to the proper management of a paper designed, not merely to keep abreast with Liberal opinion, but to lead and instruct it. It was well written and eminently readable, but—out of harmony, as it was bound to be, with the aristocratic politicians who held common ground whether they called themselves Whigs, Tories, Peelites, or Conservatives—it was scarcely recognised as their champion by Cobden, Bright, and the other Radicals of the Manchester school. 'The Express,' which was an afternoon version of 'The Daily News,' was not of much account, and 'The Globe,' once famous as a vigorous evening exponent of Liberalism, had lost its importance, notwithstanding the vivacity that Francis Mahony, best known as Father Prout, often imparted to its columns.

'The Morning Herald,' which soon after it became the property of Edward Baldwin in 1843 made vigorous efforts to compete with 'The Times,' establishing an independent service of foreign expresses, and in other ways indulging in a more lavish outlay than was warranted by the result, had but a few years of brilliant life. When Edward Baldwin died 'The Herald' descended to his son Charles, already proprietor of 'The Standard'; but both papers sank steadily, being, it was alleged, only maintained by a subsidy from the Emperor Napoleon III., and, nicknamed Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Gamp by 'The Times,' they rendered no service to and won no thanks from the Conservative party for which they assumed to be spokesmen, until,

on Charles Baldwin's bankruptcy, they fell into the hands of James Johnson, who, with John Maxwell as his earlier adviser and assistant, soon began to improve the property.

'The Morning Post,' of which Algernon Borthwick became manager soon after 1851, he having previously been its Paris correspondent, was also in need of mending. When 'The Morning Chronicle' was bought by the Peelites, Palmerston transferred his support to 'The Post,' and it was for some time his mouthpiece; but neither gained by the change. Speaking of the negotiations for peace with Russia after the close of the Crimean war, Greville said on December 11, 1855, 'Palmerston continues to put articles into "The Morning Post," full of arrogance and *jactance*, and calculated to raise obstacles to the peace. This is only what he did in '41, when he used to agree to certain things with his colleagues, and then put violent articles in "The Morning Chronicle," totally at variance with the views and resolutions of the cabinet.'[1]

In yet worse plight was 'The Morning Chronicle' after the Peelites had abandoned their expensive and useless toy. For a few years longer, however, Serjeant Glover published 'The Evening Chronicle' as well as its parent. 'The Public Ledger' was now, as it continued to be, solely a repository of commercial announcements and advertisements.

There was thus considerable need of the reformation that was to be wrought in several of the London daily papers by the Newspaper Stamp Act of 1855 and its sequels. But even greater was the change in the weeklies. Among these 'The Illustrated London News' now stood almost if not quite in the first place as regarded circulation. In the course of twelve years

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. i. p. 303.

it had acquired an average sale of nearly 110,000, and, edited since 1848 by Charles Mackay, who combined vigorous politics and good literature with its pictures and news, it surpassed all rivals as a sixpenny paper for middle-class reading. In keen competition, the one circulating about 109,000, the other about 107,000 a week, 'The News of the World' and 'Lloyd's Weekly News,' along with 'The Weekly Times,' which sold about 75,000 copies, provided Sunday readers with as much general news, and as much Radical teaching, of various quality, as could be issued for threepence with a penny stamp. With Douglas Jerrold for editor after April 1852, and Horace Mayhew and Hepworth Dixon among its writers, 'Lloyd's' was of higher literary merit than the other two, and if it was not quite so prosperous as 'The News of the World,' this may be attributed to its conductor's good taste in not giving prominence to reports of law and police cases which were unwholesome reading. 'The Weekly Dispatch,' like 'The Examiner,' and the other older and high-priced weeklies, had already been far outstripped by cheaper rivals.

One of the arguments used against abandonment of the compulsory stamp and all cheapening of popular literature was that it would encourage the dissemination of seditious and blasphemous opinions, and tend to demoralise the community. This was an old falsehood. 'It was not,' Lord Ellenborough had said when commending the fourpenny Stamp Act in 1819, 'it was not against the respectable press that this bill was directed, but against a pauper press which, administering to the prejudices and passions of a mob, was converted to the basest purposes, which was an utter stranger to truth, and only sent forth a continual stream of malignity, its virulence and its mischief

heightening as it proceeded. If he was asked whether he would deprive the lower classes of all political information, he would say he saw no possible good to be derived by the country from having statesmen at the loom and politicians at the spinning-jenny.'

Sixteen years of further persecution, according to the policy of Lord Ellenborough and his comrades, had done something to provoke angry protest from 'the lower classes' and to educate hand-loom statesmen and spinning-jenny politicians; but the twenty years of milder treatment that ensued had done much to repair the mischief, and the chancellor of the exchequer, in introducing his Newspaper Stamp Bill in 1855, had easy work in refuting the alarmists. 'We are not,' he said, 'left merely to conjecture on indirect evidence with reference to the conduct and character of a cheap unstamped press. There is already in existence a large class of publications which, not containing news, are exempt from the stamp, and, printed at a very cheap rate, are circulated most extensively through the country. Though these publications do not contain news, yet, if it were true that the people of this country have so insatiable an appetite for immoral and licentious reading as some seem to ascribe to them, they would possess a very different character from what they actually exhibit.' He instanced, among others, 'The London Journal,' with its weekly circulation of 510,000, and 'The Family Herald,' with its weekly circulation of 240,000, in proof that, if the readers of penny publications liked to be amused as well as instructed, they did not care for vicious literature. 'These facts,' he added, 'must be considered as showing that the spontaneous taste of the lower class of readers in this country, as regards cheap unstamped periodicals, leads them to prefer a species of literature wholly innocuous in its

character, and quite free from all the dangerous elements which have been held up to our fears.' Already, he pointed out, coarse and scurrilous publications, like 'The Town' and 'The Age,' had died for lack of readers, and experience showed that 'no immoral or licentious publication has a long life or obtains an extensive popularity.' That was mainly true, and at any rate it amply justified the cheapening of literature for the people.

It was quite as much in the interests of popular literature and education in general as of newspapers, that, two of the three 'taxes on knowledge' having been repealed, the third was persistently assailed until it, too, was got rid of. This entailed a memorable struggle, about which, however, but little needs to be said here.

The agitation against the paper duty was vigorously carried on by Collett, Francis, and their fellow-workers, and in Milner Gibson and others of the Manchester school they had zealous champions in parliament. Some who should have been helpful, however, were apathetic or hostile. Cobden complained especially of 'the sentimentalists.' 'They are not to be depended on in political action,' he wrote in 1857, 'because they are not masters of their own reasoning powers. They sing songs or declaim about truth, justice, liberty, and the like; but it is only in the same artificial spirit in which they make odes to dewdrops, daisies, &c. They are just as likely to trample on one as on the other, notwithstanding.' And he quoted Dickens, 'for ever writing of his desire to elevate the masses and to put down insolence in high places,' as an example. 'I saw a note from him in which he refused to sign a petition for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, on the express ground that he would not promote a deluge

of printer's ink in England similar to what he had seen in America.'[1]

The battle was won by stages. On June 21, 1858, Milner Gibson persuaded the House of Commons to agree without a division to an abstract resolution 'that it is the opinion of this house that the maintenance of the excise on paper as a permanent source of revenue would be impolitic.' This step gained, he thought it prudent not to court defeat that year by taking a vote on his proposed motion, 'that such financial arrangements ought to be made as will enable parliament to dispense with that tax.' On February 12, 1860, however, he and those who had worked with him during more than ten years were rewarded for their pains and patience by Gladstone's announcement, he being chancellor of the exchequer again, that he proposed to dispense with the obnoxious duty.

When the bill to that effect came on for second reading on March 12, its rejection was moved by Sir William Miles, and among those who opposed it was Lord Robert Cecil, afterwards Marquis of Salisbury. Lord Robert did not object to a regulation 'exempting from paper duty school-books which were sanctioned by the Committee of Education, in the same way that Bibles were exempted,' but he ridiculed the suggestion that a tax affecting cheap newspapers was 'a tax on knowledge.' 'Could it be maintained,' he asked, 'that a person of any education could learn anything from a penny paper? It might be said that people might learn what had been said in parliament. Well, would that contribute much to their education? They might read the foreign intelligence, of which many would understand very little, and they might see the opinions of the editor of the paper. No doubt all this was very inte-

[1] John Morley, *Life of Richard Cobden*, ch. xxiv.

resting, but it did not answer any true idea of education, or carry any real instruction to the mind. It was a prostitution of real education to talk of this tax upon the penny papers as a tax upon knowledge.' The chief ground on which other Conservative speakers based their resistance to Gladstone's proposal was that, to meet the estimated deficiency of 1,200,000*l.*, the income-tax would have to be higher by a penny than would otherwise be necessary. The bill was read a second time, however, by 245 votes against 192; a majority of 53 for the government. The third reading, on May 9, was obtained by a majority of only 9. On May 20, the bill was defeated by 193 votes to 104 in the House of Lords.

The turmoil that ensued furnished material for an important chapter in constitutional history. 'It entailed,' said Gladstone, 'the severest parliamentary struggle in which I have ever been engaged.'[1] But the satisfactory issue of this struggle was the adoption of such a plan for carrying out the reform by the House of Commons that the House of Lords could not again thwart it. The paper duty was abolished on June 12, and the new rule came into operation on October 1, 1861.

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, vol. vii. p. 374.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MODERN REVOLUTION.

1855—1861.

THE six years between the repeal of the Newspaper Stamp Act and the surrender of the paper duty were years of stupendous change in the conditions of journalism. Those fiscal reforms were themselves merely incidents in the revolution, as much consequences of an overwhelming movement already started as causes of further progress; but if they were inevitable, they were also most beneficial.

'The Saturday Review,' commenced on November 3, 1855, was not the earliest, or, as a newspaper, the most important of the ventures of this revolutionary period, but it represented more clearly than any of the others some of the fresh forces that were at work. Started chiefly at the expense of A. J. B. Beresford Hope, and edited by John Douglas Cook, immediately after the Peelites, with him for newspaper trumpeter, had abandoned a six years' effort to make 'The Morning Chronicle' an effective organ of their opinions, it became, within narrower limits and in lines of its own, a more remarkable pioneer of modern developments in journalism. 'Their immediate motive in coming before the public,' the projectors announced, 'is furnished by the impetus given to periodical literature by the repeal of the Newspaper Stamp Act. The press has, by the late change in

the law, acquired freedom rather than cheapness, and of the benefits of this change the writers and proprietors of "The Saturday Review" desire to avail themselves.' Of its general plans and achievements something will be said presently. The chief thing to be noted here is that, as was proper to a continuator of 'The Morning Chronicle,' it made it one of its special duties to oppose 'The Times' on political grounds, and to overthrow, if it could, what it regarded as the monstrous monopoly of the overweening tyrant of Printing House Square.

The keynote was struck in a vigorous but extravagant article on 'Our Newspaper Institutions' in its first number. 'No apology is necessary,' it was here said, 'for assuming that this country is ruled by "The Times." We all know it, or, if we do not know it, we ought to know it. It is high time we began to realise the magnificent spectacle afforded by British freedom—thirty millions of cives Romani governed despotically by a newspaper!' 'There is very little use in inquiring how this state of things came about,' it was added. 'Probably the causes of which it is the result have been multifarious and contradictory. Our slavery to habit and our love of change—our worship of success and our sympathy with unprotected endeavour—our delight in hearing our own age extolled with fulsome adulation, and our fancy for reading contemporary history with a margin of murmurs and a glossary of grumbling—the former dearness of newspapers and advertisements, and their present cheapness—the independence of "The Times" and its immorality—its adequacy to great questions, and its industry in hunting out infinitely small ones—the power and humour which it occasionally displays, the sham wit and counterfeit energy which it often puts upon us—each of these has no doubt distinctly assisted in procuring for it some class

of readers, or contributes sensibly to its existing influence.' That influence 'The Saturday Review' proposed to undermine. 'We suggest,' it said, among other things, 'that the existing despotism may be mitigated by the exercise of common sense and ordinary perspicacity. We say to a confiding public, Do your best to resolve the "we" into "I." Because William Jones addresses you on Monday with vigorous logic and persuasive rhetoric, do not take the conclusions of John Smith for granted because they happen to be printed on Tuesday in the same place. Reflect that both William Jones and John Smith are gentlemen writing three times a week, be there matter or no matter, be there straw for the bricks or none.'[1]

'The Saturday Review,' proposing to give sixteen pages of original writing and advertisements every week for fivepence, or on a stamped copy for sixpence, was only a critic, not a rival, of 'The Times' and the other daily papers. The first of the new rivals was 'The Daily Telegraph and Courier,' which had made its appearance as a twopenny four-page sheet on June 29, 1855, a fortnight after the passing of the Newspaper Stamp Act. 'The former name,' it was said, 'is, we trust, appropriate, from the sources of our special information, and the latter as an evidence of our means of dissemination and circulation.'[2]

Both halves of the title were borrowed. 'The Courier,' once famous and influential as an evening journal, had died ingloriously, not long before, after half a century's existence. A 'Railway Telegraph' had had very brief life in 1846 as one of the stock-jobbing papers, then plentiful, before the collapse of the railway mania; and Herbert Ingram, elated by the

[1] *Saturday Review*, November 3, 1855.
[2] *Daily Telegraph*, June 29, 1855.

success of 'The Illustrated London News,' had started a 'London Telegraph' on February 1, 1848. This latter was a bold and interesting experiment. In 'The London Telegraph' Ingram proposed to give for threepence as much news as the other journals supplied for fivepence. The paper was to be published at noon, so as to furnish later intelligence than the morning journals provided, yet to be in time for delivery all over London and in the suburbs early in the afternoon. It was also to have a *feuilleton*, after the French example, and it made a good beginning in this line with 'The Pottleton Legacy,' by Albert Smith. Its editor was Thomas Hodgskin, an authority on economical and commercial affairs, and Charles Mackay wrote on foreign politics. But it was an unprofitable speculation. Reduced in size on May 15, its last number, containing the last chapter of 'The Pottleton Legacy,' was printed on July 8.[1]

'The Daily Telegraph and Courier' threatened to be as short-lived as 'The London Telegraph.' As a cheaper paper than any of the other dailies, it caused some sensation, but Colonel Sleigh, who projected it, had not sufficient capital for the enterprise, and neither by business energy nor, though Thornton Hunt was its editor, by literary merit, was it able to compete successfully with its rivals, which had now reduced their price to fourpence for unstamped copies. Sleigh had promised that the advertisement columns should 'in no

[1] 'Mr. Hodgskin,' says Dr. Mackay, 'reported that the disappointed proprietor, in his unreasonable and unreasoning wrath at the failure, accused him of being the cause of it, from his constant use of the word "bureaucracy," which, Mr. Ingram said, had occurred at least ten times in one week in the leading articles. "Bureaucracy! bureaucracy!" he exclaimed in irate terms, "such a word is enough to damn any newspaper, and it has damned *The Telegraph.*"'—*Through the Long Day*, vol. i. p. 351.

case exceed the first page,' or that, if they did, a second sheet of four pages should be issued; but he never had occasion to keep the promise. Advertisers refused to patronise the new journal, and a day's income from this source was sometimes no more than ten or fifteen shillings. Sleigh accordingly fell heavily into debt, and especially with the printer, Joseph Moses Levy, who was at that time the proprietor of 'The Sunday Times,' a formidable competitor, among the high-priced weeklies, of 'The Weekly Dispatch.' In redemption of his debt, and to save the paper from ruin, Levy took it into his own hands, and shortly afterwards, on September 17, 1855, it was issued as the first of the penny daily papers.

In the opening article of the first number of 'The Daily Telegraph and Courier,' the writer had spoken of the power already achieved by the press, and the 'conquests' it had already obtained, as 'the tacit acknowledgment of the superiority of its mental advocacy of right, in contradistinction to the dreaded dictation of an armed and licentious mob.' These triumphs, he declared, 'instead of rendering the press tyrannical, immoral, and an instrument to be feared, have made it, under a constitutional monarchy, the safeguard of the throne, the improver of morality, and the guardian of the subject. Let not, then, the new era of journalism which we this day inaugurate in the metropolis of the world be viewed in any other light than as an additional monitor to the people, and a loyal champion of the sovereign and the constitution.'[1] And in the sixty-ninth number, the first offered for a penny, 'The Daily Telegraph' claimed to be 'a newspaper compiled with a care which places it in the hamlet, and secures its perusal in the palace.'[2]

[1] *Daily Telegraph*, June 29, 1855. [2] *Ibid.*, September 17, 1855.

For his boldness, regarded by others as madness, in proposing to issue a morning journal, saddled with all the heavy expenses incident to the collection of news at first hand, besides all the original writing, at the low price of a penny, Levy was in time rewarded. He was able to boast that, in January 1856, 'The Daily Telegraph and Courier' had achieved an average circulation of 27,000 a day;[1] and on March 17 the sheet was enlarged by nearly half its original size. 'Our success has been complete,' it was then said, 'although we have had combined against us the entire metropolitan, and a large section of the provincial press.' On the following September 6 the size was reduced; but 'The Daily Telegraph'—dropping from its title the 'Courier,' which had previously been printed in reduced type, on October 28—appeared as an eight-page sheet on March 29, 1858. By that time its prosperity had been assured, and it had some ground for asserting that it was 'without precedent or parallel,' seeing that, with special correspondents in France, Prussia, Russia, India, and Canada, it gave nearly as much, and quite as varied reading, as any of its high-priced compeers, or the most enterprising of the cheap rivals that, following its example, had entered the field.

Of those rivals there were then three. 'The Morning News,' though first to appear, was of small account. Commenced on March 3, 1856, it was a poor compilation from 'The Morning Chronicle,' issued under the same reckless and incapable management, and, with or without design, calculated rather to prejudice the public against the innovation of penny newspapers than to

[1] It may be well to remind the reader that, with the cessation of the compulsory stamp, the published stamp returns ceased to be of any value as informants of the circulation of the various newspapers, as only so many were stamped as were intended to pass through the post.

answer any useful purpose. Its last number was published on December 31, 1858, with a promise, which was not kept, that a new series, giving eight instead of four pages, and edited by Henry Mayhew, would be begun in January. The two others were more important experiments in penny journalism.

One was a double event. On March 17, 1856, was commenced 'The Morning Star' with 'The Evening Star' as its afternoon pendant. These estimable and heroic advocates and exponents of the policy of the Manchester school, which had taken a lead in procuring the Newspaper Stamp Act, were a tardy effort to make practical use of the reform; and 'The Daily Telegraph' had been allowed to acquire a firm hold on popular favour before the more earnest Radicalism of Cobden and Bright had a mouthpiece in the press. Hesitation about interfering with 'The Daily News,' which had emanated from the same school ten years before, seems to have caused some delay, and further delay was caused by the difficulty in raising sufficient funds for the venture. A capital of about 80,000*l.* was at length raised, however, Cobden contributing 250*l.*, and 4,500*l.* coming from his immediate friends. John Bright's brother-in-law, Samuel Lucas—not to be confounded with another Samuel Lucas, who edited Disraeli's weekly organ, 'The Press,' and was afterwards connected with 'The Times'—was the first editor, and under him was an efficient staff. The plan, at starting, was to give news rather than comments. There was but one leading article in each number, and not much other original writing. 'Facts,' it was announced, 'will never be dealt with in these papers'—the programme being for 'The Evening' as well as for 'The Morning Star'—'for party or personal objects. Believing that the public are, ordinarily, able to supply their own com-

ments, these papers will report occurrences without lengthened observations.' The promise was made that they should 'pander to no popular passions,' and would 'strive to be essentially household papers.' 'They will strive,' it was added, 'to enlist those kindlier sympathies and more graceful social sentiments which contribute to the happiness of home. Every useful measure of a philanthropic tendency will receive ardent advocacy, and it will be a leading object of these journals to promote those principles which most contribute to the permanency of peace, and to the consequent increase of the prosperity as well of nations as of families.'[1] Unfortunately those aims were too refined and exalted for readers who enjoyed the roarings of 'the young lions of "The Telegraph,"' and the undeserved opprobrium that fell upon the members of the Manchester school during and after the Crimean war affected the commercial prospects of 'The Morning Star.' Even 'The Saturday Review,' however, welcomed the newcomer, and commended it for being free alike from 'the vulgarity of "The Daily News" and the imbecility of "The Morning Herald."'[2]

'The Morning Herald,' and also its evening colleague, 'The Standard,' had sunk very low before the bankruptcy of Charles Baldwin, the proprietor of both papers, in the summer of 1857, when they were bought, plant and everything, by James Johnson for, it is said, 16,500*l.*[3] 'The Standard,' however, was still the best circulated and the most authoritative of the afternoon papers. 'There is no subject, celestial or terrestrial,' it was said of it in 'The Saturday Review,' 'on which it has not a fixed, familiar opinion, which it is not ready to state on

[1] *Morning Star*, March 17, 1856.
[2] *Saturday Review*, March 22, 1856.
[3] James Grant, *Newspaper Press*, vol. ii. p. 111.

oath, and which no change of circumstances can alter. This is the secret of its success; its opinions are cast in iron, and its language possesses a sort of amiable coarseness which can present those opinions 'in a hundred forms.'[1] When Johnson became its owner he lost no time in improving 'The Standard,' issuing it for the first time as a morning instead of as an evening paper on June 29, 1857, reducing its price to twopence and doubling its size to eight large pages; but, for the benefit of aristocratic readers, not only continuing 'The Morning Herald,' with all its silliness, as a four-penny paper, without the stamp, but also starting a high-priced 'Evening Herald.'

In 'The Standard,' besides all the news, a novel, 'Leonard Harlowe, or the Game of Life,' by Dr. William Russell, was now given, and, supplying twice as much matter for twopence as either 'The Daily Telegraph' or 'The Morning Star' provided for a penny, it was a dangerous competitor. The competition was keener after February 4, 1858, when the price was reduced to a penny. 'When in 1857 the proprietorship changed,' it was then announced, 'it was determined that a step should be taken in advance in every department of the journal. All the truly able and efficient portion of the staff were retained; fresh blood from the best tried sources was introduced; the size of the paper was doubled; the expression of opinion was widened from narrow sectarian views to the comprehensive judgment and reason of unbiassed Englishmen, in order that the journal might find an acceptable place in every family.' 'The politics of "The Standard,"' it was added, 'are those of the age—enlightened amelioration and progress. Our religious principles are staunch Protestantism, without narrow sectarian bigotry or polemical zeal.

[1] *Saturday Review*, February 2, 1856.

Bound to no party, our only object and aim are to make this journal the earnest and honest representative and exponent of true English spirit, interests, prosperity, and freedom; striving manfully for the permanent advance and greatness of the entire British empire.'[1]

It was this cheapening of 'The Standard' that led to the doubling in size of 'The Daily Telegraph' seven weeks later. The rivalry that within two years of the passing of the Newspaper Stamp Act had been established among London penny papers, and between them and their high-priced contemporaries, was liveliest in respect of these two—'The Standard,' which professed moderate and progressive Conservatism, and 'The Telegraph,' which was boldly Radical in some ways, but had no sympathy with the Manchester school; and it was hotly maintained during the years before and after the abolishing of the paper duty, which was of immense advantage to both the penny combatants and, in less degree, to nearly all the others.[2] 'The Morning Star,' able, earnest, and generous, enforcing unpopular opinions, and appealing to a limited class of readers, was a competitor to be sneered at by those who chose, but hardly to be feared.

'The Standard,' having its long-established traditions, which merely needed to be improved upon, and a good staff of writers, to be added to on occasion, was in somewhat different case from 'The Telegraph,' for which the whole machinery of a newspaper office, human and other, had to be rapidly brought together. Under Thornton Hunt's not too energetic editorship and afterwards, capable writers and assistants had to be

[1] *Standard*, February 4, 1858.

[2] By the removal of the paper duty, it is said, *The Daily Telegraph* saved 12,000*l.* a year.

enlisted. One of the first was George Augustus Sala, not long before one of Dickens's pupils on 'Household Words.' Another was Edwin Arnold, who in 1861 resigned the principalship of the Sanskrit College at Poona to become a leader writer for 'The Telegraph,' and who at once made his mark by his articles on Indian subjects. Another was John Merry Le Sage, who, formerly a reporter for 'The Torquay Directory,' joined the London paper at about the same time.[1] An active worker with Levy from the first, moreover, was his son, who took the name of Lawson on the death of his uncle, Lionel Lawson. Edward Lawson was writing dramatic criticisms and other articles for 'The Telegraph' in 1857.[2]

By the new and vigorous competition to which they were exposed the high-priced papers missed much of the advantage they would otherwise have gained from the removal of 'the taxes on knowledge,' and at least two of them suffered considerably. 'The Morning Herald,' as we have seen, was only kept alive as an adjunct of 'The Standard,' and it dropped out of existence in 1869. 'The Morning Chronicle' died before that, in 1862. 'The Daily News' fared better, having a steady-going editor, after William Weir's death, in Thomas Walker, and, the more Radical connection of the sometime Radical organ having gone over to 'The Morning Star,' it satisfied the majority of the Liberal party in its languid adhesion to Lord John Russell and his Whig and Peelite allies. 'The Morning Advertiser' had a more prosperous though less dignified life, continuing to combine a certain form of violent Liberalism with its vigour as a trade organ, the licensed victuallers being, as a body, more Liberal than Conser-

[1] William Hunt, *Then and Now*, p. 65.

[2] Edmund Yates, *Recollections and Experiences*, vol. i. p. 297.

vative until the legislative interference with their trade which culminated in the Licensing Act of 1868 turned the current of their politics. Apart from 'The Times,' the only other political daily paper was 'The Morning Post'; and 'The Post' obtained a new lease of life from reforms that on principle it opposed.

'The Morning Post' now stood alone as the aristocratic paper, and under the skilful management of its young editor, Algernon Borthwick, it was much more than a channel for 'fashionable intelligence.' As the champion and spokesman of Lord Palmerston, who found it convenient to have a newspaper organ of his own, agreeing with him on matters about which he was sometimes at variance with the colleagues over whom he presided, and as Palmerston's ally or mouthpiece in zealous support of the policy of Napoleon III., it acquired a unique position among English journals. 'Intelligence arrived yesterday,' Greville wrote on January 1, 1856, 'that Esterhazy had presented the Austrian proposal to Nesselrode on the 28th, who had received it in profound silence. Yesterday morning "The Morning Post," in communicating this fact, put forth an article indecently violent and menacing against Prussia; and, as it contained a statement of what the Emperor Napoleon had said to Baron Seebach, which was exactly what Persigny had told Clarendon, this alone would prove, if any proof were required, that the article was inserted either by Palmerston or by Persigny. "The Morning Post" derives its only importance from being the gazette of Palmerston or of the French government, and it is not very easy to determine which of the two is guilty of this article.' And on the next day Greville added, 'The speech which Louis Napoleon addressed to the imperial guard the day before yesterday, when they marched into Paris in triumph, gives

reason for suspecting that the manifesto against Prussia in "The Morning Post" was French, for there is no small correspondence between the speech and the article.'[1] Such use of 'The Morning Post' for state purposes—and it often happened—necessarily helped the circulation of the paper.

'The Times' also, of course, profited much by the special information it obtained from official sources. Though the fiscal reforms were of great benefit to it, and though its circulation increased every year and its income from advertisements was yet more augmented, its political influence was being as much impaired by the advent of new rivals and the growth of old ones as the Cobdenites or the critics of 'The Saturday Review' could hope for; but it was still, and was long to continue, a great authority, courted and feared by strong governments, and meekly or sullenly accepted as an infallible instructor by a large section of the public. Its old opposition to Lord Palmerston had nearly passed away, and during Palmerston's two premierships, extending with a brief interruption from 1855 to 1865, it gave him almost uniform support.

Towards Napoleon III. 'The Times' was less friendly, and in 1858, when Lord Derby was in office, he had to ask Greville to use his influence with Delane 'to get them to abstain from writing any more irritating articles about France,' because, as Lord Derby averred, 'these articles provoked the French to madness,' at a time when 'nothing but the utmost care and moderation on both sides enabled the two governments to go on in harmony.'[2] But Greville tells a curious story showing how even the French emperor, when it suited him, made use of 'The Times.' 'Persigny called

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 179.

on Lord John one day,' we read, 'and told him he was come in strict confidence to show him the letter which the emperor had written to the king of Sardinia, but which he must not mention even to his colleagues, except of course to Palmerston. Lord John promised he would not, and a day or two after he read the letter in "The Times." He sent for Persigny and asked for an explanation. Persigny said he could not explain it, but would write to Walewski. John Russell also wrote to Cowley, who spoke to Walewski about it. Walewski declared he could not account for it, and that it must have been sent from Turin, and he would write to that court to complain of the indiscretion and would also speak to the emperor. He went to the emperor, told him what had passed, and showed him what he proposed to write to Turin, when the emperor said, "No, don't write at all; take no notice of the publication. The fact is, I sent the letter myself to 'The Times'' correspondent!" A most extraordinary proceeding,' Greville adds, 'and showing the extreme difficulty of all diplomatic dealing between the two governments. The emperor is by way of being indignant with "The Times," and never fails to pour out abuse of the paper to whomever he converses with. He did so to Cobden, for instance, to whom he gave an audience at Paris. But who can tell whether this is not a pretence and a deceit, and whether he may not all the time have a secret understanding with "The Times"?'[1]

The political connections of 'The Times' gave it an immense advantage over all the other newspapers. Its ample resources, moreover, enabled it to spend a great deal more money than any other journal had at command in paying for good work, whether done in London

[1] *Greville Memoirs* (Third Part), vol. ii. pp. 273, 274.

or elsewhere. Abraham Hayward and Vernon Harcourt were two old writers on 'The Morning Chronicle' who were glad to contribute to 'The Times,' while, at the same time, they were writing for its angry critic, 'The Saturday Review'; and scores of other able men, professed journalists and competent amateurs, were on its staff. The enterprise that had been so useful in procuring William Howard Russell's letters concerning the Crimean War was continued on all occasions, and Russell himself was employed as a special correspondent respecting grand spectacles like the coronation of the Tzar Nicholas at Moscow in 1856, and momentous catastrophes like the Indian Mutiny. It was George Wingrove Cooke who acted as special correspondent for 'The Times' during the Chinese War of 1857, the account of which was reprinted under the title of 'China and Lower Bengal;' another work, 'Conquest and Civilisation in Northern Africa,' being made up of letters written by him during a mission to Algeria. The example set by 'The Times' in such developments of journalistic work as these was already being freely followed by other papers; but they had not yet contrived to vie with it successfully.

All these and all such extensions of newspaper enterprise were concurrent with, and partly incidental to, the abolition of 'the taxes on knowledge'; and nearly every newspaper profited by the change, though not in equal measure, and the public profited yet more. In the weekly press, moreover, the revolution brought about was in some respects quite as remarkable as in the daily press.

'The weekly newspaper, whether sectional or general,' as it was said in the preliminary announcement of 'The Saturday Review,' 'aims at giving a digest of all the news of the week, together with comments in the shape

of leading articles which, from the nature of the case, must be few in number, and either partial or perfunctory in scope. What "The Saturday Review" proposes is to make its speciality consist in leading articles and other original matter.' As this writing could be done leisurely during the week, it undertook to offer 'more measured statements and more deliberate thought' than could be looked for in the work done hastily for the daily papers, and at the same time it pointed out that 'its comparative frequency of publication will enable it to occupy a position in the way of direct and immediate usefulness which periodicals published at the rare intervals of one month or three months necessarily fail to maintain.' Most of its writers, it was added, 'who are known to each other, and none of whom are unpractised in periodical literature, have been thrown together by affinities naturally arising from common habits of thought, education, reflection, and social views'; and they proposed 'to address themselves to the educated mind of the country, and to serious, thoughtful men of all schools, classes, and principles, not so much in the spirit of party as in the more philosophical attitude of mutual counsel and friendly conflict of opinions.' 'In politics,' it was further said, '"The Saturday Review" is independent both of individual statesmen and of worn-out political sections; in literature, science, and art, its conductors are entirely free from the influence or dictation of pecuniary or any other connections with trade, party, clique, or section.' And, in token of their independence, it was notified that 'the conductors decline to receive books, prints, &c., gratuitously for review,' and 'will provide for themselves the works which they may select for criticism.'[1]

There was some arrogance, or bumptiousness, in

[1] *Saturday Review*, November 3, 1855.

these declarations, and all the promises were not kept; but the first number of 'The Saturday Review,' giving six articles on political or other concerns of the day, three short essays of a more miscellaneous sort, and five reviews of books, was a striking production, and the plan was fairly well adhered to after it was found expedient, at the end of two years, to increase the size of the paper so as to give, in about twenty pages, about twenty articles of various sorts every week, the price being raised from fivepence to sixpence. There was no lack of energy in its management, its chief originator, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, being also one of its contributors under its able editor; and among other contributors, besides Abraham Hayward and Vernon Harcourt, being Edward Alfred Freeman, George Smythe, who died as Lord Strangford, and Lord Robert Cecil, who became Lord Salisbury; to whom were added, somewhat later, James Fitzjames Stephen, Henry Maine, John Morley, and many more. No collection of writing so thoughtful, vigorous, or diversified, was at that time given in any other weekly paper, and 'The Saturday Review,' speedily winning favour among a large body of readers, not only exerted a very considerable influence upon them, and, through them, upon a much larger circle, but also, coinciding with other influences, had very marked effect upon weekly journalism as a whole.

'The Examiner,' nearly half a century before, had begun as bravely, and, to say the least, with as high purpose, as 'The Saturday Review;' but 'The Examiner' had scarcely moved with the times. Leigh Hunt had done splendid work in it, excellent on political and on literary grounds, during more than one decade; and Albany Fonblanque, during much more than another decade, had revived and carried on that work, on somewhat different lines, but with equal earnestness

and honesty, and more pungent wit. Fonblanque, however, had been made chief of the statistical department of the Board of Trade by Lord John Russell in 1849, and, though still writing often for 'The Examiner' with much of his old fire, was to some extent associated with one of the 'worn-out political sections' at which 'The Saturday Review' sneered; and John Forster, his successor in the editorship, was, with all his literary tastes and political sympathies, a man of uncertain mood. Neither he nor Fonblanque was inclined to face the opposition of 'The Saturday Review' by reconstructing 'The Examiner' as an outspoken and comprehensive exponent of later Radicalism. Though Forster had a staff of brilliant and trenchant writers under him, including Eyre Evans Crowe, Edwin Chadwick, Torrens McCullagh, and Henry Morley, who before long took Forster's place as editor, there was small room for their work in the old-fashioned sheet, of which only two or three pages were spared for original articles, and the rest was occupied by Dudley Costello, the sub-editor, with extracts of news from the daily papers. 'The Examiner' was allowed to fall behind in the race for which new conditions were prescribed by 'The Saturday Review.'

'The Spectator' was more enterprising. From its commencement, Rintoul had provided in it so much space for original writing, and had been so careful as to the selection and condensation of news, that its assimilation to 'The Saturday Review,' in outward form and general scope, was comparatively easy. The paper had of necessity aged somewhat with the man during the thirty years of his editorship and ownership; but after his death, on April 22, 1858,[1] 'The Spectator' fortunately passed into hands well able to manage it.

[1] *Spectator*, May 1, 1858.

Meredith Townsend brought to his task considerable experience as a travelled politician and business aptitude controlled by high principle, and when he was joined by Richard Holt Hutton, a deep thinker and polished writer, an altogether suitable partnership was established for making 'The Spectator' a formidable critic and an active guide of public opinion. Narrower in its range than 'The Saturday Review,' and more systematic in its aims, it was a consistent teacher and advocate of views in politics, religion, philosophy, and literature not more different than the lapse of a generation almost necessitated from the views and aims which Rintoul had propounded as the friend and disciple of men like George Grote and Joseph Hume.

The influence of 'The Saturday Review' was shown in many other weekly papers which need here be only named, or not even named. Such papers as 'The Guardian' and 'The Athenæum' were improved in quality, and thereby both the proprietors and the public gained. Others, like 'The Leader,' started by George Henry Lewes in 1849,[1] and 'The Press,' favoured by Benjamin Disraeli, were hastened towards decay and death. Others, like 'The London Review,' commenced by Charles Mackay in 1860,[2] with Lawrence Oliphant for one of his partners, attempted to vie with the already mighty autocrat of Southampton Street, and soon found their efforts futile.

The passing of the Newspaper Stamp Act, and the

[1] In 1859, 'talking of *The Leader* to Lewes, Carlyle asked, "When will those papers on Positivism come to an end?" "I can assure you they are making a great impression at Oxford," says Lewes. "Ah! I never look at them; it's so much blank paper to me. I looked into Comte once; found him to be one of those men who go up in a balloon and take a lighted candle to look at the stars."'—*Anne Gilchrist: her Life and Writings*, p. 72.

[2] Mackay, *Through the Long Day*, vol. ii. pp. 201–212.

prospect of a speedy removal of the paper duty, led to a great many fresh experiments in weekly journalism which, if most of them were disastrous so far as the projectors were concerned, encouraged or compelled by their competition much advance in those journals which were strong enough to live and thrive. So it was especially in the case of 'The Illustrated London News,' to which, on account both of its large size and of its large circulation, the withdrawal of the fiscal burdens was of exceptional advantage. In opposition to it were started 'The Pictorial Times,' 'Pen and Pencil,' 'The Coloured News,' and several more, besides 'The Illustrated Times'; but of these only the last-named, swallowing up some of the others, obtained any hold on the public.

'The Illustrated Times' was begun on June 9, 1855, six days before the Newspaper Stamp Bill became law, with David Bogue for its proprietor and Henry Vizetelly for its editor; and was interesting, not only on account of its clever pictures, but also because in it what was almost a new line of journalism was opened up by a young and afterwards famous journalist. With the third number Edmund Yates commenced a weekly article entitled 'The Lounger at the Clubs.' 'For six or seven years,' he says, 'I kept up a continuous comment on the social, literary, and dramatic events of the day, and it was, I believe, Mr. Vizetelly's opinion that my flippant nonsense did as much for the paper as the deeper and drier wisdom of the day.' Yates was in good company. 'Many of the rising men of the day,' he adds, 'George Sala, Robert Brough, James Hannay, Frederick Greenwood, Sutherland Edwards, Augustus Mayhew, Edward Draper, were on the staff of the little paper, which did well—so well that the proprietor of its big predecessor found it necessary to purchase

it, and thenceforward let it fly with partially clipped wings.'[1]

The weekly papers that gave pictures, such as 'The Illustrated London News' and its rivals, the weekly papers that gave jokes, among which 'Punch' had no rival worth mentioning, and some others with special aims—among which 'The Field,' started in 1853 by Horace Cox, 'The City Press,' started in 1857, 'The Army and Navy Gazette,' projected by William Howard Russell, and 'The National Reformer,' projected by Charles Bradlaugh, both in 1860, were particularly noteworthy in their several departments—held intermediate place between the papers claiming to be solely critical, with 'The Saturday Review' now at their head, and the papers intended to be chiefly if not exclusively newspapers, according to the narrower meaning of the word. Among these latter the effects of the fiscal reforms of the period we are now considering were very remarkable. Hardly any paper of the least importance, except those which were merely advertisement sheets or strictly trade organs, has, of course, been published during the last two centuries, which has offered nothing but news to its readers, and even the humblest journals have done something to influence public or local opinion, not only by their bare statement of facts, but by their modes of stating them, and by their few or many comments thereon. Even the humblest, too, were influenced, and more or less improved, by the growing demand for instruction which caused the abolition of 'the taxes on knowledge,' and by such example as was set by 'The Saturday Review.' More comment or criticism than heretofore was given, or attempted, along with the bald recital of events, in nearly every newspaper. A great cleavage began, how-

[1] Yates, *Recollections and Experiences*, vol. i. p. 278.

ever, or was then first apparent, about the middle of the nineteenth century, and it was very distinct before the day when the paper duty was done away with.

The lowering of the cost of production, partly due to legislative action, and partly to other causes which will presently be referred to, and also the increasing demand of the public for newspapers along with other sorts of literature, brought great advantage to almost all newspapers. With its expenses lowered, even if its circulation was not increased, every journal not driven out of the field by the quickening competition, was a better commercial property after 1855, and yet more after 1861, than it had been before ; and many proprietors were satisfied with this. But the more intelligent portion of the public were not satisfied. If our grandfathers and great-grandfathers were perforce content to pay fivepence or sixpence, or it might be eightpence or tenpence, for a small news sheet, of which, say, half was actual news, one fourth advertisements, and the remaining fourth more or less forcible original writing, our fathers had some reason for grumbling if the same sort of provision, or even a little more, on a larger sheet, but in the same proportion, was offered to them with a reduction of only a penny or so on the old price. Cheap papers were wanted ; and, especially as the want was met by enterprising caterers, the caterers without enterprise, though they might not be ruined, and might even find their profits somewhat enhanced, were at a disadvantage in comparison with their bolder rivals. Hence we find that papers of great repute in former days, like 'The Examiner' and 'The Weekly Dispatch,' running in the old grooves, and charging fivepence for the unstamped sheet instead of sixpence for the stamped sheet, were eclipsed by papers like 'Lloyd's Newspaper,' which gave nearly as much news and comments for a

penny. Readers who could afford to pay fivepence or sixpence for a weekly paper preferred, especially as they could now get news from the daily penny papers, to buy 'The Saturday Review' or 'The Spectator,' with its ample supply of original writing. Those whose means were scantier, or who knew the value of money, bought 'Lloyd's.'

The circulation of 'Lloyd's Newspaper' exceeded 100,000 for the week in which it reported the death and funeral of the Duke of Wellington, and in 1853, when it was ten years old, its average sale was about 90,000. The abolition of the advertisement tax in that year nearly doubled its receipts from advertisers, and enabled its energetic proprietor to improve the quality of his paper. Of much greater importance, however, was the abolition of the compulsory stamp which reduced the price for all who did not receive their copies by post—these, in the case of publications like 'Lloyd's,' being the great majority of customers—from threepence to twopence. The sale increased so rapidly that it amounted to 170,000 in September 1861, when, anticipating by a few weeks the abolition of the paper duty, Lloyd reduced the price to a penny. This bold step involved serious risk and much present loss of money, and, as it also halved the profits of the newsvendors on each copy they sold, it was angrily condemned by them. It was persisted in, however, and as a consequence the circulation had risen to nearly 350,000 in 1863, a number which was added to in nearly every succeeding year.

It was to meet this unparalleled demand that in 1855 Lloyd opened negotiations with Hoe & Company, the inventors of rotary printing machines in New York, and he was the first in England to make use of their appliances for rapid printing, these being improved and

adapted to meet the special requirements of the Salisbury Court establishment. The Walter press, introduced in 'The Times' office in 1856, was suggested by Lloyd's innovation, and to his eager adoption of other expedients for facilitating the work of printing and distributing newspapers by hundreds of thousands, his rivals and compeers are largely indebted. If the process of type-setting still in vogue shows little advance on the arrangements of our ancestors, all its sequels, as in stereotyping, 'machining,' counting and folding the copies issued from the press, and so forth, have been elaborated and modified to a wonderful extent in answer to the demand for prompt supply of newspapers in quantities and varieties that our ancestors never dreamt of.

These mechanical appliances were the direct outcome of the growth in the newspaper trade. Others, quite as helpful, were the causes rather than the consequences of further growth. The construction of railways was of immense service alike in the collection and in the distribution both of news and of newspapers. The electric telegraph proved yet more useful as an agent for collecting and distributing news, though newspapers could not be conveyed by it. The changes thus brought about, or conduced to, first by the one agency and then by the other, were very noteworthy, and to them quite as much as to the fiscal reforms of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century must be attributed the remarkable development of newspaper enterprise during this period.

The earliest effect of railways upon newspaper enterprise appeared in the speedier, cheaper, and safer reporting to the London offices of occurrences in the provinces and more distant parts. During the first years of Queen Victoria's reign the metropolitan journals were able to publish much fuller and more

varied accounts of recent events than had before been possible. Londoners were supplied at breakfast time with news as to anything of importance that had happened but a few hours before in Bristol or York, and there was corresponding improvement in the speedy bringing to them of news not merely from Paris or Berlin, but from India and China. The railways, helped by steam packets and other means of conveyance, which enabled the London newspapers to publish all this intelligence, were equally serviceable in carrying the London newspapers to country towns, and in this way, while the country papers, at that time rarely published more than once a week, were made more readable for those who received them at the week's end, there was much more advantage for the London daily papers in that they could be delivered in all parts of England before night-time. The country papers gained much by railways, and by the general social advancement in which railways played a part, but for a long while after they had begun to acquire fresh dignity and influence, they were chiefly important as retailers of such local news and promoters of such local interests as the London papers hardly concerned themselves with. Even the best of them were strictly local papers, giving outside news only at second hand, and debarred from discussing general questions till some time after those questions had been discussed by the London papers and the London discussions had been brought within reach of their readers. Beneficial as they were in so many respects, the railways by themselves hindered quite as much as they assisted the development of country newspapers.

This state of things was altered, and in time almost reversed, by the electric telegraph. While to the London papers it was of vast benefit that they were

able to obtain in a few minutes news which had hitherto occupied as many hours, and in the case of remote places as many days, in reaching them, they lost their old advantage of being the first retailers of general news in the country towns. That news, or so much of it as was cared for, could now travel down by telegraph, whereas at best the London newspapers could only travel by train, and though the expenses of transmission, the comparative poverty of the country newspapers, and other circumstances retarded the change, a complete revolution in provincial journalism began almost with the second half of the present century.

There were influential country newspapers, with able editors and writers employed on them, before the century began, and others followed, as has been briefly noted in an earlier chapter; but no daily paper was published in England, and out of London, until the year in which the Newspaper Stamp Act was passed. Manchester led the way. In 1855 its 'Guardian,' in which, from its starting as a weekly paper in 1821, Archibald Prentice had propounded sound Radicalism, and in which, before 1835, Cobden had written boldly on the need of corn law reform,[1] was converted into a daily paper; and in the same year 'The Manchester Examiner,' dating from 1846, and now more Radical than its compeer, was also enlarged. In 1855, moreover, 'The Liverpool Daily Post' and 'The Sheffield Daily Telegraph' were commenced, and in Edinburgh 'The Scotsman,' which had flourished as a weekly since 1817, began to be issued daily. 'The Liverpool Mercury,' born in 1811, and 'The Birmingham Daily Post,' a new paper, followed in 1857; and in 1858 two other famous weeklies, 'The Newcastle Chronicle,' dating from 1764, and 'The Glasgow Herald,' dating from

[1] Prentice, *History of the Anti-Corn-law League.*

1782, were reshaped. Those nine, all of them Radical, were the only provincial English and Scotch daily papers before 1860. Ireland, however, had several; nearly all of which were Conservative, the only important exceptions being the venerable 'Freeman's Journal,' and 'The Belfast Northern Whig,' which, a weekly since 1824, was expanded in 1857. In 1859 'The Irish Times,' destined to be the most enterprising supporter of Protestantism in the island, was established in Dublin. In Edinburgh the Conservatives ventured on expanding their venerable 'Courant' in 1860, and 'The Newcastle Journal,' enlarged in 1861, was also Conservative. 'The Edinburgh Daily Review,' commenced in 1861, and 'The Dundee Advertiser' and 'The Leeds Mercury,' both transformed in that year, were Liberal, as also was 'The Western Daily Mercury,' started at Plymouth in 1860, while the rival Plymouth paper of the same year, 'The Western Morning News,' undertook to be 'strictly independent in matters of politics and religion.'

The last-named paper, though less influential than some of the others, was interesting as the preliminary of a movement that was very important in the history of country journalism. Its founders were William Saunders and his brother-in-law Edward Spender, who in 1863 organised the Central Press as an ingenious device for lessening the cost and improving the quality of provincial newspapers. Under this arrangement a staff of London writers was employed in producing from day to day summaries of English and foreign news, trade and other reports, descriptive accounts of parliamentary debates, 'London letters,' leading articles 'on the latest topics of general interest,' careful compilations of literary and religious intelligence,' and much else, all of which were set in type and reproduced in stereotype columns to be sent down to the country editors,

in order that they might select from the parcel so much as they found suitable for their several papers.[1] By this means much labour and expense were avoided, the compositors on the spot having only to deal with local news, and the editors being spared the trouble of writing about any but local concerns. It is evident, however, that the matter thus supplied, if more comprehensive and accurate as regards facts than much that might be put together by ill-informed or careless editors, had of necessity to be colourless in its politics, and was only adapted for a rude stage in journalistic progress. Repudiated from the first by the more enterprising and independent conductors of country newspapers, it was very useful to less ambitious or less capable members of the craft, and as such it was useful in its day. It has, indeed, been continued and elaborated, by disciples and rivals of the proprietors, down to the present time, and is doubtless still a boon to many.

A more important and serviceable scheme of newspaper co-operation was of earlier origin. In the autumn of 1858 Julius Reuter, who since 1849 had been building up a news-agency in Paris, proposed to the managers of 'The Times' that in lieu of the costly reports received by telegraph from its correspondents abroad, or by way of supplement to those reports, they should take from him the digests of foreign news which he was prepared to collect from all sources and to supply at moderate terms to as many newspapers as accepted his help. The offer was declined by the managers of 'The Times,' but it was accepted by James Grant, of 'The Morning Advertiser,' to whom overtures were next made, and after that by several other managers.[2] The result was the establishment of Reuter's Agency, 30*l.*

[1] William Hunt, *Then and Now*, p. 73.

[2] James Grant, *Newspaper Press*, vol. ii. pp. 325-331.

a month being then paid by each subscriber in return for the news supplied by the enterprising caterer. At that time the means of telegraphic communication between England and other parts of the world were scanty, and much of the news had to be obtained through slower channels. Reuter's Agency was ably conducted from the first, however, and proving of great convenience to the few journals that then availed themselves of it, it has been steadily and rapidly developed until it has become almost as necessary a part of newspaper machinery as the electric telegraph itself. Enabling even those papers which can afford to obtain special information from their own representatives abroad to supply much information that would not otherwise reach them, it has been of far more value to the less wealthy papers which are chiefly dependent upon it and on their more prosperous neighbours for intelligence from places outside of England. This remarkable institution would not have been possible were it not for the impetus given to journalism by the removal of fiscal restraints, the increasing demand of the public for newspapers, and the mechanical appliances that have been brought into use, but it has helped materially to strengthen the forces that produced it.

CHAPTER XXII.

TWELVE YEARS OF PROGRESS.

1862—1874.

THE abolition of the paper duty, followed by several postal reforms, changes in the law of libel, and other legislative and executive arrangements which, whether so designed or not, were all helpful to the growth of newspapers in numbers, size, and varieties of style and purport, render the period since 1861 in some respects more important and interesting in the history of journalism than any portion of the preceding two hundred and forty years. A detailed account of this eventful period, however, would necessarily include much with which many readers are already familiar. In such an account also, more would have to be said about men still living, and about political, social, and personal enterprises still in progress than falls within the scheme of the present work. It may suffice, therefore, here to gather up and group together only the most significant of the facts and the most instructive of the inferences from them which are furnished by the record of the past quarter of a century. The nature, though not the complete process, of the remarkable expansions, variations, and innovations that have occurred since 1861 can be briefly sketched.

In 1862, and during many later years, 'The Times' still held its ground as the great potentate in the press

world with an authority that was more and more disputed, but was not yet seriously weakened. Its old quarrel with Lord Palmerston had been abandoned, from conviction or from motives of expediency, and, Lord Palmerston being, till his death in 1865, the special favourite of the strongest party or aggregate of parties in the nation, 'The Times' was in most respects his zealous supporter. 'Lord Palmerston,' as it said in contrasting him with Disraeli, 'represents the precise state of the national mind in opposing unnecessary changes without setting up resistance as a principle, and in countenancing all foreign approximations to the political theories and system of England. It is a minor merit that in all party skirmishes he opposes consummate tact to his opponent's versatile ingenuity.'[1]

'The Times' and Palmerston undertook to manage all the domestic affairs of England, to control all its foreign relations, and to dictate to the rest of the world; and their temper was conspicuously shown in their attitude towards what was on some accounts the supremely important movement then on foot. The secession war in the United States involved questions both of national rights and liberties, and of the rights and liberties of individuals and classes bound together by national interests, which were of universal concern, and with which Englishmen, as kinsmen of the Americans, and also by reason of the connections between, as they then were, the great cotton-producing country and the great cotton-manufacturing country, were especially concerned. 'The Times' took the lead among newspapers in supporting the southern rebels, just as among politicians the same views were held not only by Palmerston but by Lord John Russell, Gladstone, and many others whose sympathies were

[1] *Times*, December 31, 1861.

supposed to be less aristocratic and tyrannical than Palmerston's. So strong was its partisanship that, having sent William Howard Russell to follow the war as its special correspondent, it recalled him for having ventured, in describing the battle of Bull's Run, to express opinions of his own which were not those of his employers. In New York it had a more docile correspondent in Charles Mackay, who thence instructed English readers in disparagement of the northern politicians from February 1862 till the close of 1865, except that during some months he had as a substitute Antonio Gallenga, the Anglicised Italian who was a zealous servant of 'The Times' throughout nearly a quarter of a century.[1] Special correspondents had by

[1] Dr. Mackay gives an amusing illustration of the way in which, in this case by accident, his anti-Northern statements were emphasised by Delane. 'Among the most violent of the onslaughts made upon me by the ultra-republican and abolitionist press,' he says, 'was one brought on my innocent head by an unfortunate alteration made in the proof-sheet of one of my letters to *The Times*. Writing of the frequent battles between the brave Confederates and the equally brave Federals, I stated that the results of these sanguinary engagements in no wise helped to bring the war to a conclusion, and that in fact "they proved *nothing* but the courage of the combatants on either side." This passage was queried by the proof-reader, and so brought to the editor's notice, and, misinterpreting my meaning, he changed the word "nothing" into "*anything*." When the copy of *The Times* containing this unlucky alteration arrived in New York the vials of wrath were opened against me by *The Herald* and other papers of anti-English politics, of which there were very many during the war. . . . I was denounced in the most violent terms for accusing the Americans, both of the North and of the South, of cowardice, though nothing was farther from my intention. *The Herald* went so far as to hint that it might be a just punishment for the libel of which I had been guilty to burn my house over my head. . . . I afterwards learned that there was great joy in *The Times* printing office, and in the sub-editor's room, and among all the officials who had been called to account for the foolish, though not ill-meant, tampering with my "copy," when the delinquency was traced to the great Jupiter Tonans himself, who, in a moment of confusion, forgetfulness, or perhaps of sleepiness, had taken it upon himself to set me wrong when thinking to set me right.'—(*Through the Long*

this time come to be employed by all the influential papers, but 'The Times' stood alone in obtaining from William Vernon Harcourt the articles on 'the international doctrine of recognition, on the part of foreign governments, of insurgent communities,' on 'the perils of intervention,' on 'the law of blockade,' on 'the Foreign Enlistment Act,' 'on the right of search,' and on the other bearings of the 'Trent' affair, which were republished in 1863 as 'Letters of Historicus on some Questions of International Law.'

The old feud between 'The Times' and the Cobdenites was intensified by their advocacy of rival views as to the merits of the civil war in the United States; but there was hardly any question, great or small, in home or foreign politics, on which the opposite principles that prompted them did not set them at variance whenever controversy arose. An instance occurred in 1863, when Cobden, speaking at Rochdale on November 24 on the need of land law reform, said: 'With regard to some things in foreign countries we don't compare favourably. You have no other peasantry like that of England—you have no other country in which it is entirely divorced from the land. I don't want any revolution or agrarian outrages by which we should change all this; but this I find to be quite consistent with human nature, that wherever I go the condition of the people is generally pretty good, in comparison with

Day, vol. ii. p. 226). Dr. Mackay says (vol. ii. p. 272): 'I learned from an intimate friend of Mr. Seward, that the secretary of state was willing to bestow a liberal proportion of secret service money upon me if I would zealously support the cause of the North in *The Times*, and, as he said, "make my fortune"'; but as he adds that 'the proposition was never formally made,' we may assume that his information was incorrect. During his stay in New York Dr. Mackay contrived to obtain the particulars as to the rules and objects of the then young Fenian organisation which, when published in *The Times*, caused no little commotion.—*Through the Long Day*, vol. ii. p. 230.

the power they have to take care of themselves, and if you have a class entirely divorced from political power, and there is another country where they possess it, the latter will be treated there with more consideration, they will have greater advantages, they will be better educated, and have a better chance of holding property, than in a country where they are deprived of the advantage of political power.'[1] Bright spoke to the same effect. 'If we were fairly represented,' he said, 'feudalism with regard to the land of England would perish, and the agricultural labourer throughout the United Kingdom would be redeemed from that poverty and serfdom which, up to this time, have been his lot. With laws such as we have, which are intended to bring vast tracts of land into the possession of one man, that one man may exercise great political power—this system is a curse to the country, and dooms the agricultural labourer to perpetual poverty and degradation.'[2]

These mild utterances aroused the wrath of 'The Times.' 'This language,' it said, 'so often repeated, and so calculated to excite discontent among the poor and half-informed, has really only one intelligible meaning: "Reduce the electoral franchise; for when you have done so you will obtain an assembly which will seize on the estates of the proprietors of the land and divide them gratuitously among the poor."'[3] And a week later 'The Times' repeated the calumny in a reference to 'the satisfaction with which the poor might regard Mr. Bright's proposition for a division among them of the lands of the rich.'[4] An angry and memorable correspondence between Cobden and Delane

[1] *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy, by Richard Cobden*, vol. ii. p. 116.

[2] George Barnett Smith, *Life of John Bright*, vol. ii. p. 118.

[3] *Times*, November 26, 1863. [4] *Ibid.*, December 3, 1863.

followed on the publication of these strictures, the first of which, attacking himself as well as Bright, was only seen by Cobden after he had written to protest against the slandering of his friend in the second.

On December 4 Cobden addressed to the editor of 'The Times' a letter so rudely worded that he could hardly have expected it to be inserted. The insinuation against Bright he said was 'a groundless and gratuitous falsehood,' and 'a foul libel,' but at the same time only a specimen of the 'too habitual mode of dealing, not merely with individuals, but with the interests of society' which was characteristic of 'The Times' and its editor. 'A tone of pre-eminent unscrupulousness in the discussion of political questions, a contempt for the rights and feelings of others, and a shameless disregard of the claims of consistency and sincerity on the part of its writers,' he added, 'have long been recognised as the distinguishing characteristics of "The Times," and placed it in marked contrast with the rest of the periodical press.' That very intemperate letter was returned on December 7 with a note from 'the editor' suggesting that 'Mr. Cobden had no right to expect him, upon a pretext entirely irrelevant, to publish a series of most offensive and unfounded imputations upon himself and his friends.' But Delane weakened his case by proceeding to offer a very lame excuse for the attacks complained of by Cobden; and he unwarily wrote at the close, 'Perhaps the editor is mistaken in supposing that Mr. Cobden desires the publication of his letter. If, however, he should think that it conduces either to his own interest or to the injury of "The Times," he can probably find some more appropriate organ than "The Times" itself.'[1]

[1] *Correspondence between Mr. Cobden, M.P., and Mr. Delane, Editor of 'The Times'* (Manchester, 1864), pp. 2–4.

Cobden took Delane at his word. His indignant protest was printed in 'The Daily News' and 'The Morning Star,' Thornton Hunt declining to copy it into 'The Daily Telegraph.' More than that, it was followed by another letter, dated December 9, in which Cobden, addressing Delane by name, made further and yet angrier complaint as to the way in which he and Bright had been treated. 'You and I,' he wrote, 'have been long personally acquainted. Your handwriting is known to me, and I know you to be the chief editor of "The Times." Under such circumstances I cannot allow you to suppress your individuality, and shelter yourself under the third person of the editorial nominative in a correspondence affecting your personal responsibility for a scandalous aspersion on myself (as I now learn for the first time from you) as well as on Mr. Bright.' Thereupon he accused Delane and 'The Times' of having persistently attacked him and the views he held during many years, and gave ample proof of the injustice that had been done to him, though in terms so violent as to greatly weaken the force of the indictment. 'It has been the fate of "The Times," ' he said in conclusion, 'to help forward every cause it has opposed. By its truculent, I had almost said ruffianly, attacks on every movement while in the weakness of infancy, it has roused to increased efforts the energies of those it assailed, while at the same time it has awakened the attention of a languid public, and attracted the sympathy of fair and manly minds. It is thus that such public measures as the abolition of the corn-laws, the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, and the negotiation of the treaty with France triumphed in spite of its virulent, pertinacious, and unscrupulous opposition, until at last I am tending to the conviction that there are three conditions only requisite for the success of any great

project of reform, namely, a good cause, persevering advocates, and the hostility of "The Times." '[1]

The letters that followed, two on each side, are unpleasant reading. Delane could not, or would not, justify his conduct or that of 'The Times,' and he was no match for Cobden in scornful abuse. Cobden incurred just blame for the offensive way in which he punished his adversary; but it was not undeserved punishment, and 'The Times' suffered much in reputation, not merely among Radicals, but among many who opposed them.

Speaking at Birmingham on January 26, 1864, Bright summed up the history of the squabble, and drew his conclusions from it. 'This,' he said of Delane, 'is the gentleman who professes to counsel and lead the nation. Now, suppose he had charged Adam Smith, the great apostle of political economy, with approving piracy, or if he had charged John Wesley with being an encourager of drunkenness and profanity, would it have been more extraordinary than that he should charge Mr. Cobden and myself with instigating agrarian outrages and the seizure of the estates of those who now hold them, for the purpose of dividing them among the people, of course taking nothing from the people for them, and therefore giving nothing to the rich for them? If there be two men in England, I will undertake to say, who have more conscientiously and more faithfully than others preached for twenty-five years the doctrine of absolute honesty with regard to political questions in England, those two men are Mr. Cobden and myself. But Mr. Cobden came forward to assail Mr. Delane when he made this charge against me. He found a man in a mask endeavouring to stab me in the back—for he had not seen that the same man had been, in a previous article, also

[1] *Correspondence, &c.*, pp. 6–9.

stabbing him—and he came forward and dragged his mask from him, and he showed him to the gaze of the whole nation and of the world. And at last, after denial and equivocation of every kind, this unmasked editor of this great journal was obliged to retire from the personal part of this controversy, and to skulk back into his anonymous hiding-place, which suits him better.' [1]

There was too much personality in this quarrel, and its occasion was comparatively trivial; but great questions were involved in it, and neither the political causes to which 'The Times' devoted itself, nor its immediate interests as the would-be autocrat of the newspaper world, gained anything by Cobden's death in April 1865. In the following October Palmerston also died, and Cobdenite influences were to survive with more strength and permanence than Palmerstonian influences. The rising statesmen were Disraeli, with whose Toryism 'The Times' was less in harmony than with Palmerston's views, which were really more Tory than anything else, and Gladstone, who, though chancellor of the exchequer under Palmerston since 1859, was destined to work out Cobden's policy far more than Palmerston's, and with whom, therefore, 'The Times' was by no means in accord.

At this stage, however, 'The Times' could not but recognise Gladstone's great talents and prospective authority, in other besides financial matters. When, at the general election in 1865, Gladstone lost his Oxford seat, 'The Times' said: 'The enemies of the university will make the most of her disgrace. It has hitherto been supposed that a learned constituency was to some extent exempt from the vulgar motives of party

[1] *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy, by John Bright,* vol. ii. p. 338.

spirit, and capable of forming a higher estimate of statesmanship than common tradesmen or tenant-farmers. It will now stand on record that they have deliberately sacrificed a representative who combined the very highest qualifications, moral and intellectual, for an academical seat, to party spirit, and party spirit alone. Mr. Gladstone's brilliant public career, his great academical distinctions and literary attainments, his very subtlety and sympathy with ideas for their own sake, mark him out beyond all living men for such a position. Henceforth Mr. Gladstone will belong to the country, but no longer to the university. Those Oxford influences and traditions which have so deeply coloured his views and so deeply interfered with his better judgment, must gradually lose their hold on him.'[1]

In the years of party disintegration and reconstruction consequent on Lord Palmerston's death—during which, after Lord John Russell's short continuance of his colleague's ministry, Lord Derby took office in June 1866, to be followed, on his death, by Disraeli in February 1868, and after December 1868, when Gladstone first had charge of a government of his own—'The Times' steadily lost ground. The Tories now had a satisfactory champion in 'The Standard,' in which Lord Robert Cecil sometimes wrote, as well as other recognised captains of the party to whom Disraeli's supremacy was still distasteful; and 'The Morning Post' was rising in favour with some. By the younger school of Palmerstonians 'The Daily Telegraph' was heartily approved, and its vigorous and versatile writing, if ridiculed by 'Saturday Review' critics and others, had already secured for it a far larger circulation than any other daily paper could boast of. Edwin Arnold, George Augustus Sala, and their associates knew well

[1] *Times*, July 19, 1865.

how to cater for their huge public. By judicious selection and clever condensation, moreover, the conductors of 'The Telegraph' contrived to give, in less space than 'The Times,' a more acceptable account of each day's occurrences, and it vied with its oldest and wealthiest contemporaries in the variety and fulness of the news brought from abroad. Felix Whitehurst, who was its Paris correspondent between 1864 and 1870, was a typical writer of the 'Telegraph' stamp,[1] and he was but one among many. Zealous in advocacy of its own sort of Liberalism, as well as in its supplying of such news as a large part of the public most cared for, 'The Daily Telegraph' was the most formidable opponent of 'The Times,' and far more successful than either 'The Daily News,' which was Liberal without being Radical, and 'The Morning Star,' which was unmistakably Radical.

'The Morning Star' suffered for its honesty, and for the persistency with which it uttered opinions that were not then popular. An effort was made to give lightness and variety to its contents, especially by the admission of Edmund Yates's articles, some entitled 'The Flâneur,' and others of a miscellaneous sort, while, in 'The Evening Star,' appeared his 'Readings by Starlight'; and there was no lack of more serious writing by able men. Besides Samuel Lucas, its staff included Justin McCarthy, who succeeded Lucas as editor, John Morley, who succeeded McCarthy, Edward Richard Russell, who afterwards became editor of 'The Liverpool Daily Post,' Charles Cooper, who afterwards became editor of 'The Scotsman,' and several others. But at no time, it is said, did the joint circulation of

[1] Whitehurst's *Court and Social Life in Paris under Napoleon III.*, made up of his letters in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Pioneer*, is still a very amusing book.

both the morning and the afternoon papers exceed 15,000 a day, and this had sunk down to about 5,000 before October 13, 1869, when 'The Evening Star' was abandoned and 'The Morning Star' was absorbed in 'The Daily News.' In saying farewell to his readers the editor assured them that 'The Morning Star' had achieved two objects since its commencement thirteen years before. 'One of these was the advocacy and propagation of political principles which were then counted extreme in their Liberalism; the other was to establish the feasibility of providing journalism of the best sort under what were then the untried conditions of a penny newspaper.' [1]

The death of 'The Morning Star' was hastened, if not caused altogether, by the lowering of the price of 'The Daily News' from threepence, which had been the charge made since 1861 as a poor compromise between the old and the new rate, to a penny. This change was made on June 8, 1868, and was the prelude to a rapid improvement in the fortunes of the paper. In spite of its clever and forcible writing, and of Thomas Walker's well-meaning editorship, 'The Daily News,' not strong enough to compete with its high-priced rivals, nor bold enough to appeal to the great mass of readers who now declined to pay more than a penny for a daily paper, had made but little progress for some years past. None too soon, fresh life was put into it when it became the property of Samuel Morley, Henry Labouchere, Henry Oppenheim, Charles Reed, and some others; and when a new editor was found in Frank Harrison Hill, who, having edited 'The Northern Whig' in Belfast since 1860, had settled in London as assistant editor and principal leader writer on 'The Daily News' in 1866, contributing to it, among much

[1] *Morning Star*, October 13, 1869.

else, a trenchant series of 'Questions for a Reformed Parliament' in 1867. Hill's responsible editorship only began in 1870; but before that much had been done to advance the paper, both by him and by John R. Robinson, who, taking charge of 'The Express,' the evening companion of 'The Daily News,' as far back as 1855, had in the interval rendered efficient help to both journals. 'The Express' was discontinued on April 30, 1869, on the plea that 'the publication of an evening newspaper was found inconsistent with the arrangements called for by the extending circulation of 'The Daily News';[1] and, as we shall see, those arrangements were energetic and satisfactory in their results.

An interesting but unhappy experiment in journalism was made in 1867. On March 19 'The Day' appeared as a champion of enlightened Toryism. One of its missions was to insist on the importance of adopting proportional representation in the new Reform Bill, then being discussed in parliament. 'To give to every class in this country its due share of representation in the House of Commons, without at the same time bestowing upon any of them a preponderance over all the rest,' it insisted, 'is confessedly the great problem of the present day.'[2] But, unfortunately, 'The Day,' started with insufficient capital, only lived through forty-one numbers. The last appeared on May 4.

A great alteration in the quality of evening journalism had been commenced by the starting, on February 7, 1865, of 'The Pall Mall Gazette,' the venture of George Smith, a member of the firm of Smith, Elder, and Co., and at one time a principal proprietor of 'The Daily News,' who found an efficient editor in Frederick Greenwood, previously sub-editor of 'The Cornhill Magazine' under Thackeray. 'The Pall Mall Gazette,'

[1] *Express*, April 30, 1869.

[2] *The Day*, March 19, 1867.

though at first offering only eight pages for twopence, was a bold attempt to realise Thackeray's fancy of a paper 'written by gentlemen for gentlemen,' and to give each afternoon, along with a careful epitome of the morning's news, two or three such articles on political and social questions as had hitherto been rarely offered except in 'The Saturday Review' or 'The Spectator.' Liberal in the Palmerstonian sense, its solid articles were forcible, and lighter matter was supplied by smart writers, among whom, for some time, Anthony Trollope was conspicuous. The first number contained an article on the morrow's opening of parliament, one of a supplementary series of 'Friends in Council,' a lively 'Letter from Sir Pitt Crawley on his entering Parliament,' and a skit on 'Ladies at Law.' The early success of 'The Pall Mall Gazette,' however, owed more to the sensational account of the experiences of 'an Amateur Casual,' furnished by the editor's brother, James Greenwood, than to any of its other contributions. Within a month it was enlarged to twelve pages, and, though an attempt then made to issue eight of its pages, containing all the original matter, as 'a morning review,' in addition to the 'evening review and newspaper,' was soon abandoned, as also was a yet bolder attempt made in 1870 to convert it into a regular morning newspaper of full dimensions, the afternoon sheet, if hardly successful from a commercial point of view, soon became an influential organ of opinion.

No less interesting was the appearance, on December 8, 1868, of 'The Echo,' as a halfpenny paper, giving original articles as well as news, in four compact pages, with four columns in each. 'The Echo' was projected by Cobden's old friend and associate, John Cassell, of the firm of Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, as a thoroughly Radical journal. It was begun on the eve of Glad-

stone's taking office as premier. 'The nation has elected Mr. Gladstone to its highest office,' it said in the opening article, 'and while he is fortifying himself with individual support, we may step forward and survey the task which awaits the complete action of his cabinet.' 'It will be our duty,' it was added, 'as serving the nation at large, to criticise the action of the government with impartiality. We hope for much from Mr. Gladstone; we know how severely he will be tried.'[1] Edited during many years by Arthur Arnold, and with Frances Power Cobbe for one of its principal writers, 'The Echo' appealed to a different class of readers, and depended more than its costlier rival upon news reports for its popularity, but it was no less significant as an innovation on the old methods of afternoon journalism.

Another change may here be noted. 'The Globe,' falling into new hands, and finally abandoning the Liberalism for which it had been famous in the days of Colonel Torrens, was altered in shape and reduced in price to a penny on June 28, 1869, and became a vigorous exponent of the cautious Conservatism of men like Sir Stafford Northcote. As nine years before, on June 11, 1860, 'The Evening Standard' had been commenced, or revived, as a pendant to 'The Standard,' which had been converted from an afternoon into a morning paper in 1857, the London Tories had now two evening papers, both giving fuller news within their wider limits than there was room for either in 'The Pall Mall Gazette' or in 'The Echo,' which, smaller in size, devoted more space to original writing in the interests of diverse phases of Liberalism.

The great quickening of Liberal opinion which compelled Disraeli to pass the Reform Act of 1867, and

[1] *Echo*, December 8, 1868.

the demand for fresh legislation which was responded to by the short administrations of Lord Derby and Disraeli before the autumn of 1868, and after that much more when Gladstone became premier with Bright as a member of his cabinet, gave new life to journalism in the provinces as well as in London. Country newspapers, indeed, now first acquired the full measure of dignity and influence they have since possessed. The few that had begun ten or a dozen years before to be issued daily instead of weekly were now worthy rivals of the London press, and the number was added to nearly every year. Most of these were Liberal, and generally Radical, in their politics; but, among others, the Birmingham Conservatives had in 1862 their 'Daily Gazette' in opposition to 'The Daily Post'; in 1863 'The Manchester Courier' entered boldly into rivalry with 'The Manchester Guardian' and 'The Manchester Examiner'; and in Leeds 'The Yorkshire Post' placed itself, in 1866, in competition with 'The Leeds Mercury.' These and the other country daily papers secured the services of editors and leader writers on a level with all but the most eminent of those employed in London. Most of them had correspondents in London who forwarded, first by post and afterwards by telegraph, special reports of parliamentary proceedings and general events of importance; and arrangements were made for collecting all such local news as was interesting to readers within the areas for which they catered. In these ways, all other news of interest being compactly given as well, and the whole being adequately commented on from local as well as from imperial standpoints, the district papers were made in many respects more attractive and valuable, for their districts, than the London papers could be. The monopoly and even the

supremacy of 'The Times' and its metropolitan contemporaries were thus effectively broken down.

Meanwhile the country weekly papers prospered in like ways. New ones were started, and old ones were improved, in the smaller towns and the towns that had ceased to be small through the spread of industrial and even of agricultural energy. While the great towns, like Manchester and Liverpool, Leeds and Newcastle, Birmingham and Plymouth, became, as Edinburgh and Glasgow had been before them, capitals of great provinces, and produced daily papers, as well as other things; for the benefit of the large areas around them, thus to some extent usurping the old functions of the metropolis on the Thames, there was an ample growth in each of these areas of more or less skilfully conducted weekly papers which took the place of, and generally equalled if they did not surpass, such weekly papers as had existed only a generation before in Manchester and the other local centres.

These various developments were much aided by the extension of the railway and yet more of the telegraphic systems, and by other organisations which they encouraged or facilitated. The plan for supplying from London digests of news, original articles, and even stereotyped columns of matter ready for insertion in local journals which, as has already been noted, took shape in the establishment of the Central Press in 1863, was expanded or modified in the Central News in 1870, and further improved upon by the National Press Agency, of which Edward Dawson Rogers was the manager. These and other institutions, though very serviceable to small and struggling papers, were not much cared for by those provincial dailies which could afford to obtain what they wanted in more independent ways. The provincial dailies, as well as their

humbler contemporaries, however, were admirably served by the Press Association which was started in 1868 as an offshoot of the Provincial Newspaper Society, and to meet a necessity that had long been growing.

As far back as 1852 the several telegraph companies had begun to make special arrangements for the supply of news from London, chiefly on commercial and sporting affairs; and this, collected by their own clerks, was transmitted at reduced rates, but often tardily and inaccurately, to the newspaper offices in which it was desired. The arrangement, welcome at first, soon proved unsatisfactory. In 1856 John Edward Taylor, of 'The Manchester Guardian,' sought to obtain a special report of the proceedings in parliament, but was not allowed to have any but that prepared for all the country papers by the 'intelligence department' of the combined telegraph companies. In 1860 much inconvenience was caused by serious blunders in the report of Gladstone's budget speech which had been supplied to 'The Liverpool Mercury,' 'The Western Morning News,' and other papers. Grievances like those were frequent and various, and for some time the country newspaper managers protested in vain against the formidable monopoly which the telegraph companies were acquiring. The managers complained that they were at the mercy of the companies, being charged exorbitantly for late and untrustworthy information, and, if they rejected this, being altogether debarred from providing their readers with much news that they looked for. At length the grievance assumed such proportions that it became a prominent ground for the agitation in favour of placing the telegraphs under state management, and, in anticipation of this important change, which came into force

in February 1870, suitable arrangements were made for enabling newspaper intelligence to be systematically and cheaply transmitted along the telegraph wires. As part of these arrangements, a Press Association, started in Manchester in 1865 by John Edward Taylor and others, was reshaped as the Press Association which has existed in London since 1868.[1]

The purpose of this remarkable and successful organisation, of which John Lovell was the manager until, in 1880, he became editor of 'The Liverpool Mercury,' was to supply all newspapers, whose proprietors were members of the company, with every sort of news that they could require, political bias being as far as possible excluded, and the information, especially as regards parliamentary proceedings and public meetings, being given at length or in epitome according to the exigencies of the various subscribers. Especially useful to country papers in obtaining news from London, it was also very useful to London papers in obtaining news from the country. It and the Central News, and other agencies competing with them or supplementing their work, have been of incalculable service in improving the machinery of journalism.[2] Concurrent with their progress, as collectors and distributors chiefly of English news, moreover, has been that of Reuter's and similar agencies, specially concerned in the collection and distribution of news from abroad.

News from abroad did much in 1870 and afterwards to raise the fortunes of several newspapers. In obtaining from their special correspondents graphic accounts of the

[1] Whorlow, *The Provincial Newspaper Society*, pp. 74–86; William Hunt, *Then and Now*, pp. 109–148.

[2] In 1871 the number of words transmitted to newspapers through the Postal Telegraph Department was 21,708,968. The figures had risen to 327,707,407 in 1881, and to 451,061,164 in 1886; and this apart from thirty special wires used by newspapers.

incidents of the American civil war, the rivals of 'The Times' had for the first time emulated the success with which it had made English readers familiar, week by week, with the progress of the Crimean war. The war between Austria and Prussia in 1866 was too short and sudden to give any considerable occupation to the special correspondents, although William Howard Russell's letters to 'The Times' thereon served to maintain his and its reputation for pre-eminence in this new line of journalism. When, in July 1870, however, Napoleon III. rushed into his suicidal contest with Prussia, the conditions were different. Russell continued to be the most careful and intelligent describer and critic of the military operations that ensued, but he had at least one competitor more enterprising than himself, besides several others who were able to send home, to some of the provincial as well as to the London journals, lively reports of what they saw and heard.

Archibald Forbes, the son of a Scotch minister, had shown his roving disposition by running away from college, and had served as a private soldier in India and elsewhere, before, finding himself in London in 1868, he started, at the age of thirty, on a literary career. 'The London Scotsman,' a small weekly paper, had lately been commenced, with a serial tale of Scottish life as one of its features, and, the writer of this tale being prevented from continuing his task, Forbes took up the story in the middle and cleverly completed it. Other work fell in his way, but he was chiefly employed on 'The London Scotsman,' of which he acquired the editorship, until the war broke out, when he spent a few weeks in watching its commencement as correspondent with the German army for 'The Morning Advertiser.' While at Metz he made the acquaintance of Russell, who was acting for 'The Times,' and was offered by him a place among

his assistants. Declining the offer, Forbes was, to his great chagrin, recalled a few days later by his employers, on the plea that his letters were not good enough for 'The Morning Advertiser'; and, on his return to London, he called at the 'Times' office in the hope of obtaining a market for some 'exclusive information as to the disposition of the German front before Paris' which he had brought with him. 'The communication was discouraged,' says one of his friends, 'and he stood in Fleet Street, hesitating which of the three daily newspapers in the immediate neighbourhood to offer his "copy" to. He decided, by tossing up, on "The Daily News," and on the following morning made his first appearance in the columns of the journal with which he has since been so intimately associated.'[1] Before another morning came he was on his way back to Metz as the special correspondent of 'The Daily News.'

The conductors of 'The Daily News,' boldly resolving to spare no labour and expense in outstripping 'The Times' and all other rivals in this respect, made lavish provision for the employment of correspondents at the scene of war, and for obtaining their letters by telegraph instead of by post. 'You and Bismarck,' Shirley Brooks once said to Robinson, 'are the only persons who have gained by this war; *you* deserved it.'[2] Forbes was well fitted to help and share in the gain. A quick observer, a shrewd guesser, and a rapid writer, with great powers of physical endurance and rare versatility in devising and making ready use of expedients for quick movement from place to place and for overcoming all obstacles, he contrived to be in the thick of every important operation, to send home livelier

[1] *Celebrities at Home* (reprinted from *The World*), vol. iii. p. 44. See also *The Journalist*, January 14, 1887.

[2] Hatton, *Journalistic London*, p. 56.

reports of his experiences than any one else could have penned, and often to be far ahead of all his rivals.

A characteristic anecdote is told of his exploit after the surrender of Paris in January 1871. 'The correspondent of "The Daily News" was the first newspaper man in Paris after that eventful day, and conveyed his impressions by means of a long-concerted scheme. Riding into Paris from the north side, he saw all that was to be seen, and, after surmounting various difficulties, contrived to get out again, rode to Ligny, and travelled by train all the way to Carlsruhe, whence he forwarded his letter of three columns by telegraph to London, and then returned to Paris, to find a couple of special correspondents there to laugh at his apparently tardy arrival, and tell him—all in a good-natured fashion—that at last they had got the better of him, and left him "out in the cold." He did not reply. There is a canny northern proverb to the effect that "it's a canny thing to say nowt," and on this he acted, until "The Daily News" arrived in Paris, and his friendly rivals were thunderstruck to find that they had been anticipated by three days.' [1]

Three months later, after the communists' insurrection had broken out in Paris, and he had been compelled, in self-defence, to assist in some of their proceedings, Forbes determined to force his way out and bring his own parcel of news to London. 'Armed with one official envelope directed to the Queen of England,' according to the same informant, 'he escaped from the burning city, and, by means of another dummy letter addressed to Lord Granville, obtained precedence at the crowded ferry. Thence he rode to St. Denis, and, writing by the way, came on to England by train and mail-boat, on which he was the solitary passenger. At

[1] *Celebrities at Home*, vol. iii. p. 46.

Calais he telegraphed to "The Daily News" to keep space, and he arrived at the office, with his account of Paris in flames, at six A.M. At eight appeared the special edition of the newspaper, and at a quarter to ten Mr. Robinson found his correspondent asleep in his room, with the "Post Office Directory" for a pillow. As Mr. Forbes's letter was the first intimation of the state of Paris received in this country, the excitement was great. In the afternoon a question was asked of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons whether the government had any information of the condition of the French capital, as set forth in "The Daily News." He replied that he had no information, and sincerely hoped that the statements in that journal were exaggerated. Subsequent information proved that the account of Mr. Forbes was rather under than over stated.'[1]

During the war, and mainly by reason of its graphic letters on the subject, the circulation of 'The Daily News' rose from 50,000 to 150,000 a day. All the credit was not due, however, to Forbes's contributions, which were afterwards reprinted as 'My Experiences of the War between France and Germany.' The work of several hands besides his appeared in another reprint, 'The War Correspondence of "The Daily News,"' and yet another was 'The Diary of a Besieged Resident in Paris,' by Henry Labouchere. The large library of books issued on the same theme attests the zeal of other able newspaper correspondents, notably 'My Diary in the Last Great War,' recounting Russell's experiences in the service of 'The Times.'

If 'The Daily News' profited most by this melancholy business, there were few papers which did not gain fresh readers by the keen desire of the public for information, and the evening journals were especially

[1] *Celebrities at Home*, vol. iii. p. 48.

benefited. 'The Observer,' also, without a rival in publishing such news as reached London late on Saturday night and on Sunday morning, was in this way revived from many years of apathy, and able to take for itself and to maintain a unique position as a high-priced Sunday paper, replacing 'The Times' and the other journals for the one day in the week on which none of them were issued. The results to the public from all the zeal for late news which was thus encouraged may not have been wholly advantageous; but their bearing on the modern progress of journalism was all the more remarkable when we take account of the drawbacks to their value.

Newspapers were, perhaps, at their highest level of real value, though not of influence or circulation, in 1870 and the few years ensuing. Nearly everything, so far as we now know, that could be done for them in the way of mechanical conveniences and freedom from fiscal and legislative restraints had by that time been done. It had come to be possible for a large and well-printed sheet, supplying intelligence from all parts of the world, put together at great cost, and edited with great care, to be sold for a penny; and the number of people able and anxious to read good newspapers had grown with the trade that catered for them. The competition between rival producers was keen enough to force them to use all their wits in seeking and winning public favour, but not yet so keen as to drive them often into unworthy ways of attracting and amusing readers.

Of the three firmly-established penny daily papers in London each had a place and a function of its own. 'The Daily News' was as Radical as it dared to be, considering its recognised position as the champion, though not the avowed organ, of Gladstone's reforming government, and it worthily performed its office.

Towards the passing of the Irish Church Disestablishment Act in 1869, the Irish Land Act in 1870, and all the other great measures of that time, it rendered material help, and if it was less zealous in its support of some of the later projects of the ministry, it was honestly and effectively ministerialist. The sound judgment, the generous sympathies touched with honest cynicism, and the incisive writing, of its talented editor, all aptly shown in the remarkable series of 'Political Portraits' which he reprinted from the 'Daily News' in 1873, gave the paper such political weight as it had never had before; and Hill received capable assistance from Justin McCarthy and such other writers, serious and light, as Robert Giffen, E. L. Godkin, P. W. Clayden, and William Black, as well as from all the correspondents specially employed in war time. 'The Daily Telegraph' claimed to be no less Liberal, but adopted a method of its own in addressing the large body of readers whom it pleased. Its politics were more gushing and versatile, and, while it made its politics entertaining, it offered plenty of other entertainment in better contributions to the reform of social abuses than James Greenwood's imaginary account of a 'man and dog fight' in Staffordshire, which, anticipating the 'sensational journalism' of more recent years, did something at the time to discredit it. 'The Standard,' then edited by Captain Hamber, was more thoroughgoing in its Toryism than it had formerly been or was soon to be, but was none the less acceptable to its Tory readers on that account. The bold line taken up by it in opposition to Gladstone's Irish church and land-law reforms was in keeping with the fierce advocacy of the cause of the Southerners in the American civil war by which the famous letters of 'Manhattan' had greatly increased its circulation a few years before.

Of the three high-priced London morning papers, 'The Morning Post' alone was thoroughgoing and consistent in its Toryism; but both the others agreed with it in some essentials. 'The Morning Advertiser' was converted from Liberalism by the interference of the Gladstone government with the 'vested interests' of its publican readers, culminating in Bruce's Liquor Licences Act of 1871, and, James Grant being succeeded as editor by Colonel Richards, what was scornfully described as 'the alliance of Beer and the Bible' had vigorous and outspoken support from 'The Advertiser.' 'The Times' was more dignified and discreet in its leanings towards Tory tactics and its insistence on Tory principles; but already 'the decline of "The Times"' had become a subject of common talk, a ground of lamentation for its admirers and of rejoicing for its opponents.

'A formidable indictment of 'The Times,' one of many such, written in the spring of 1871, shows us how it was then judged by competent critics. 'Certainly,' said the writer, after contrasting it with the penny papers, '"The Times" is still the great parliamentary reporter; its space does that for it. Neither has any diminution yet appeared in the vast array of its advertisements. Besides parliamentary reports and advertisements, however, what have we? Not even a good arrangement. The "make-up" seems to be too often the result of accident rather than of anything else; the principle of a judicious subordination being so little respected that it is as likely as not for some insignificant topic to fill a couple of columns, while really important subjects are dismissed in a paragraph. Not good correspondence. For a paper of its class "The Times" is one of the worst-informed journals of the world. It is difficult to find any great or remarkable

transaction happening anywhere upon the whole continent which has received from "The Times" anything like an appropriate notice, even if it has received any notice at all. The recent war and the disastrous scenes at Paris form, of course, an exception; but even the war correspondence of more than one metropolitan rival is, as usual, preferred by a large circle of readers.' Concerning other foreign affairs, it was pointed out that 'The Times,' when it touched on them at all, was more ignorant or more misguided than any of its leading contemporaries, faulty as they might be. So it was as regards the great national movements then going on in Austria, Italy, and Spain, and as regards other concerns. 'The dangerous crisis in the Danubian principalities, the attitude of the Tzar towards the Russian leaders of the Pan-Slavist movement, even the position of parties in the German Reichstag, are all so many scarcely opened, or closed and sealed, books to the huge newspaper of Printing House Square.'

The last and most serious count in the indictment touched on matters nearer home. 'One relic of its past,' it was said, '"The Times" still hugs with unalterable fondness—its Irish policy. What that policy has cost both the English and Irish nations before now it boots not to inquire at length. How often have dispassionate witnesses borne testimony to the fearful exasperation that awoke among the tortured people when, in the melancholy time of the great Irish exodus, "The Times" raised its song of triumph over the flight of the famishing myriads, exclaiming, with thoroughly English exultation over calamity, that the Celts were going "with a vengeance." The lesson of hate once taught is not easily forgotten, and we know how to return "with a vengeance" has continued to be the aspiration of the survivors and heirs of the expatriated Celts.

This office of "The Times" is only too well appreciated in Ireland. When the provisions of the last Peace Preservation Act increasing the remedies against incendiary writing were being introduced, one of the commonest remarks called forth by the measure was that while "The Times" continued to lavish its daily diatribes against Ireland, Fenianism would never stand in need of any other incendiary writing. To this hour the bitter insults of "The Times" continue to be the texts for the most passionate appeals of the anti-English party. It is useless to assure large classes of Irishmen that, when the leading English journal writes thus, the majority of Englishmen are not of the same opinion, and perpetuation of Celtic hatred is part of the price paid for the reputation of "The Times" as a representative journal. More than that, it does form the opinion of many Englishmen, and that most mischievously. Everyone who reads the Irish correspondence of "The Times," its sensational telegrams, its reports of outrages, its prominent narratives of Lotharios horsewhipped and robberies expected, must find it difficult to remember that Ireland is the least criminal country in Europe, that the breach of the social virtues is almost unknown, that, except an odd squireen or land-agent, who has generally richly deserved the execrations of the community, the Kerry hills and Tipperary mountains, the midland pastures and the southland tillage fields, are as safe as Fleet Street or the Strand.'[1]

These sentences are from 'The Examiner,' about which, as we have seen something of its work in Leigh Hunt's and Albany Fonblanque's days, a little more may here be said. Fonblanque, who had long ceased to edit his paper or to write much for it, had been urged, after 'The Saturday Review' established new

[1] *Examiner*, April 15, 1871.

rules for weekly journalism, to reconstruct it in a form fitted for carrying on in new lines its old Radical war against Toryism, Whiggism, and all obstructive forces, however styled. He did not do this, however, and in 1867 he sold it to William Torrens McCullagh, who had now altered his name to McCullagh Torrens. Torrens reduced the price from sixpence to threepence, but did not change the shape or plan, and in his hands 'The Examiner' lost all that was left of its old character and influence. More than half of the space was occupied with ill-assorted scraps of stale news, and but three or four pages were allowed for original writing, which latter was entrusted to incompetent and ill-paid scribes, except now and then when the proprietor had some personal object to serve by wielding his own once vigorous pen. The paper had sunk to its lowest ebb at the close of 1870, when the copyright was bought by a too sanguine Radical, who hoped that, with the scanty means at his disposal, he might be able to restore it, under the fresh conditions that had arisen, to something like the position and influence it had held earlier in the century. Accordingly a new series of 'The Examiner,' offering for threepence nearly as much matter as 'The Saturday Review' or 'The Spectator' provided for sixpence, and similar in arrangement, though not in tone, was commenced on January 7, 1871.

'The Examiner' in its altered form discussed the political and other affairs of the day in an altogether independent spirit, the editor and most of those who wrote for him being in general agreement with the views of John Stuart Mill and such men as Cairnes and Fawcett, and therefore in the main with those of Cobden and Bright; but they ventured to think for themselves, and, as plain speakers of their thoughts, they made no attempt to trim their phrases so as to obtain outward

accord between all the opinions they severally expressed. Commending whatever they approved in the policy of the Gladstone administration, and endorsing it as a whole, they did not shrink from criticising or blaming when they held that criticism or blame was called for, and they used a like freedom in discussing all social and general questions. Recognising the necessity of opportunism in statesmanship, they protested against any patchwork legislation calculated to aggravate rather than to remove the evils afflicting society. They insisted on the need of striking at the root of abuses as the only means of really overcoming them, and with this object they used the occurrences of the hour to illustrate and enforce ethical and economical laws which seemed to them to be too much ignored, even by those who professed to obey them. They fearlessly attacked whatever conventional arrangements, theological or other dogmas, and political and other traditions, they deemed obnoxious. Deprecating all foreign complications, oppression of subject races, as in India, and such misgovernment in Ireland as even Gladstone's beneficent reforms as regards land-ownership, ecclesiastical control, and so forth appeared to deal with but inadequately, they anticipated several problems that have since attracted general attention. Desiring many social reforms, they dwelt especially on the importance of removing all arbitrary restraints upon the free action of women, either as bread-winners or as citizens. They incurred the reproach of riding too many hobbies, but several of the hobbies they rode were by their efforts brought into prominence, and shown to be, to say the least, in no way dangerous.

The new line taken by 'The Examiner' frightened away from it nearly all of the few dozen readers who remained at the end of 1870, but other readers came to

it, and, with a respectable circulation, it acquired a very considerable influence in the course of the next three years. John Stuart Mill wrote some articles for it, and in it Algernon Charles Swinburne first issued his 'Diræ,' a series of political sonnets. Other and more frequent writers, whose names have since come to be well known for other journalistic and literary work, were H. D. Traill, W. A. Hunter, William Minto, Richard Garnett, John Macdonald, Robert Williams, Mrs. Fawcett, Frances Power Cobbe, and Frederika Richardson, afterwards Mrs. Macdonald. On May 17, 1873, nine days after the death of Mill at Avignon, a double number of 'The Examiner' was published, containing twelve articles on various aspects of his character and work which had been contributed by Herbert Spencer, Cairnes, Frederic Harrison, Henry Fawcett, W. T. Thornton, W. A. Hunter, William Minto, and others.

In the autumn of 1873 'The Examiner' was sold to P. A. Taylor, by whom it was transferred soon afterwards to Lord Rosebery, among its later editors being William Minto and Robert Williams. Passing into yet other hands, it was allowed to die ingloriously in 1880.

The weekly papers which, apart from political purpose, 'The Examiner' most nearly resembled—'The Saturday Review' and 'The Spectator'—were more fortunate. 'The Saturday Review,' without quite abandoning its claim to independence or its old antagonism to 'The Times,' and losing much of the vigour with which it started, was now successful as being, in some respects and very different ways, a counterpart of 'The Times' among the weeklies. 'The Spectator' prospered by combining less thorough Radicalism than 'The Examiner' set forth with the skilful utterance of views in theology and philosophy which were agreeable to latitudinarian churchmen and thoughtful dissenters.

The political attitude of 'The Spectator' at this time may be seen from its remarks on the memorable address issued by Gladstone to his Greenwich constituents on January 23, 1874, announcing his intention to dissolve parliament, and to arrange for abolition of the income tax as a prelude to further and extensive reforms. 'No sincere Liberal,' said 'The Spectator,' 'will doubt that Mr. Gladstone's appeal to the people of England ought to meet with a cordial and grateful response. This government has been distinguished above all other Liberal governments for the honesty and earnestness with which it has redeemed its pledges, instead of using them mainly as baits to catch votes. It has been a steady, and an upright, and a Liberal government, not a Conservative government with a Liberal name, and has done more to gain for the people of the United Kingdom some addition to that stock of human happiness which, as Mr. Gladstone as truly as pathetically says, is never too abundant, than any government of the present generation. The genuine Liberals, who see its shortcomings best, will also best see its immeasurable superiority to anything likely to replace it.' [1]

With those trustful remarks of 'The Spectator' it is interesting and convenient here, though this is not altogether the place for them, to compare the indignant observations of 'The Pall Mall Gazette' on the same manifesto. 'The authority which he wants and openly asks for,' we were told, 'is a personal authority, renewed and confirmed by a *plébiscite*: "Unambiguously express your opinions once more, or, in other words, make me again personally supreme and paramount over the other branch of the legislature. Make me again the absolute ruler I was five years ago, confirm the powerful and

[1] *Spectator*, January 30, 1874.

authentic, but now more remote judgment of 1868, and I in return will remit you the income tax, lighten your local burdens, and free your breakfast tables." Such is the offer, and, whatever we think of its terms or its morality, its candour is undeniable.'[1]

The answer given by the constituencies to Gladstone's appeal, placing the Conservatives in power in March 1874, and setting many fresh forces at work, had noteworthy results on the progress of journalism.

[1] *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 25, 1874.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CLASS AND CLIQUE JOURNALISM.

1862—1886.

THOUGH politics and such social matters as have clear political bearings are supposed to be the chief business of the more important newspapers, nearly all of them have from the first paid more or less attention to affairs of trade, to popular amusements, to fresh productions in literature, science, and art, and to whatever else is interesting to any large section of their readers, and, as we have seen, several journals were started long ago with the object of supplying fuller information than was elsewhere given about particular concerns, in ways either of pastime or of serious occupation, and of commenting thereupon. In recent years, however, there have been remarkable expansion and variety in what may be called the by-paths of journalism, and though no more than a desultory review need be attempted, a little must now be said about these.

When the abolition of the paper duty opened the way for further development of all sorts of newspaper enterprise there were, besides several religious journals, ten principal weeklies, each with one or more rivals, which may be grouped under our miscellaneous category. 'The Illustrated London News' had for its speciality the pictures that accompanied its budget of general information; and 'Punch' also joined pictures with its

jokes and humorous strictures on current events and contemporary follies. 'The Athenæum' took the lead in literary criticism, and included science, art, and theatrical amusements in its scheme of general culture. 'The Lancet' and 'The Army and Navy Gazette' represented two of the professions. 'The Economist' discussed and explained commercial affairs, and 'The Builder' was one of the oldest and most successful of particular trade organs. 'The Field' was 'the country gentleman's newspaper,' dealing with sports, pastimes, and all country pursuits. 'Bell's Life in London' was devoted to other sports, and, especially in the old days, to pugilism; and 'The Era,' originally a publican's paper, had come to take particular interest in theatrical affairs. There were four or five times as many other class and clique papers in 1862, and the number has increased seven or eight fold during the past quarter of a century, with considerable re-arrangement, subdivision, and intermixing of specialities, and with some very curious additions to the list.

For a long time, after as well as before the death of its founder in 1860, 'The Illustrated London News' had almost a monopoly in pictorial journalism. Herbert Ingram and his successors were able to either crush or control nearly all formidable rivals throughout six or seven and twenty years, the most important of these being 'The Illustrated Times,' with the exception, perhaps, of 'The Queen.' Started in 1861 by S. O. Beeton, and carried on with difficulty for some while as a miscellany of news and gossip for ladies' reading, with fashion-plates as its principal illustrations, 'The Queen' only began to be prosperous after it had been bought by Horace Cox, the versatile and speculative deputy assistant judge of the Middlesex sessions, and was placed under the same management as 'The Field,'

of which he was also proprietor. A humbler but very enterprising competitor with Ingram's journal was 'The Penny Illustrated Paper,' also started in 1861, which in time was acquired by the owners of 'The Illustrated London News,' and amalgamated with 'The Illustrated Times.'

Herbert Ingram was a zealous and intelligent caterer for the large body of readers whom he attracted to his paper, and his policy was ably continued by his son, William Ingram. Even at the time of the Crimean war 'The Illustrated' had three 'special artists,' who sent home to it sketches of interesting scenes, Samuel Read from Constantipole and the Black Sea, Edward Goodall from the Baltic, and J. W. Carmichael from the Crimea. For these and others plenty of useful work was found in peace time as well as during later wars, William Simpson, who accompanied the Abyssinian expedition, having since then been one of the most energetic. 'When the great war of 1870 between France and Prussia broke out,' says the art editor of 'The Illustrated,' 'the special artists on both sides encountered all sorts of hardships, and passed through all kinds of adventures in fulfilling their duties. Besides being frequently arrested as spies, and undergoing the privations of beleaguered places, they had to run the risk of shot and shell, and sometimes they were obliged to destroy their sketching materials under fear of arrest. One of them was in custody as a spy no less than eleven times during the war. The danger of being seen sketching, or being found with sketches in their possession was so great, that on one occasion a special artist actually swallowed his sketch to avoid being taken up as a spy. Another purchased the largest book of cigarette papers he could obtain, and on them he made little sketches, prepared in case of danger to smoke

them in the faces of his enemies.' When the German armies were closing round Paris one of the five artists employed by 'The Illustrated' remained inside the city, and during the siege his sketches were sent off by balloon.[1]

The first of its rivals that 'The Illustrated London News' could not suppress was 'The Graphic,' which had a memorable origin. Among the artists employed as draughtsmen and engravers by 'The Illustrated' during many years prior to 1869 were two talented brothers, George and William Thomas. George Thomas died before he was fifty, and, for the benefit of his family, it was proposed to reissue in a memorial volume some specimens of his work. The proprietors of 'The Illustrated,' however, refused to lend the wood-blocks required for this purpose, and the ill-feeling that arose led to William Thomas's withdrawal from the establishment.[2] He opened communications with Nathaniel Cooke, Herbert Ingram's brother-in-law and partner, who had long before retired from the firm, and with other capitalists, and means were found without much difficulty for starting 'The Graphic' in December 1869.

The new paper soon achieved the success it deserved. Thomas and his editors—at first Sutherland Edwards and then Arthur Locker—obtained the help of Frank Holl, Luke Fildes, Hubert Herkomer, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Allingham, and many other artists, and also of a large staff of clever and brilliant writers. 'The Graphic,' when it commenced, was in advance of anything that had yet been produced in the way of illustrated journalism, with an ample complement of literary strength, and the breaking out of the Franco-

[1] Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press of London*, pp. 330–340.
[2] Hatton, *Journalistic London*, p. 238.

German war soon after was very serviceable to it. The vigorous competition maintained between it and 'The Illustrated' was wholly to the advantage of the public, and, contrary to general expectation, was only beneficial to both papers. Both have prospered, and they have been stimulated by one another, and by the large sale their enterprise has secured, to add every year alike to their artistic and to their literary value. Providing fiction as well as fact in their columns, they are somewhat less of newspapers than 'The Illustrated' and its older rivals used to be, but they have not on this account neglected the functions proper to pictorial journalism. If 'The Graphic' has given evidence of more variety in the choice of interesting material both for artistic and for literary work, 'The Illustrated,' edited for many years past by John Latey, has not allowed itself to be superseded. For a long time 'Echoes of the Week,' written till recently by George Augustus Sala, in themselves sufficed to attract to 'The Illustrated' a large body of readers.

Of other illustrated papers produced to meet the new public taste which those two had cultivated, the most noteworthy was 'The Pictorial World,' commencing its less prosperous career in 1874. In the same year was started 'The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News,' but both it and 'The Lady's Pictorial' have looked less to pictures than to other matter for their popularity.

'Punch' had outlived many younger rivals during its twenty years' existence before 1862, and has contrived to hold its ground ever since. 'Fun,' started in 1860, and edited first by Tom Hood the younger and afterwards by Henry Sampson, was for many years a dangerous opponent, being lower in price and more Liberal in its opinions; but neither its Radicalism nor

the Conservatism of 'Judy,' which was begun in 1867, made them as generally acceptable as the indiscriminate satire in which 'Punch' indulged under Mark Lemon and his successor, Shirley Brooks. 'The Tomahawk,' with Matt Morgan as illustrator, which was started in May 1867, was a formidable rival at first, but, having nothing but its cartoons to recommend it, it died in June 1870. 'Punch,' at its lowest level after 1874, when Tom Taylor became editor, began to revive when F. C. Burnand took charge of the comic sheet. Among a crowd of later competitors, some of them mistaking coarseness for wit and singularly devoid of humour, 'Funny Folks' has given a large supply of smart writing in its penny numbers since 1874.

Another and a much more important paper dates from the same year. 'The World' was by no means the first experiment in what is now known as 'society journalism,' but it was nearly the first in our own day to be successful. The idea can be traced back to Queen Anne's time, when Defoe's reports of the Scandal Club in his 'Review' were imitated by many, with refinement by Addison, Steele, and others, and with much offensiveness by writers like Mrs. Manley. Personal abuse and tittle-tattle of all sorts, designed to amuse the public, if not to cause pain to individuals whose follies and weaknesses were described or falsified, or else to gratify the vanity of others whose doings were more amiably recorded, was the life of many papers throughout the eighteenth century, including especially 'The Morning Post' in its earlier days. 'John Bull,' under Theodore Hook, as we have seen, was a conspicuous example of this vicious phase of journalism as it appeared in the nineteenth century, and such papers as 'The Age' and 'The Town,' though even coarser, were not more disgraceful. Edmund Yates,

however, had some ground for claiming to be its most successful adapter for the present generation.

By his gossip as 'The Lounger at the Clubs' in 'The Illustrated Times,' Yates had pleased many readers during three years before May 1858, when he undertook to edit a new paper, 'Town Talk,' projected by John Maxwell. 'My little bantling,' he says, 'was a very different kind of production from the sheet which has in later years appropriated its title. It was a quiet, harmless little paper, with a political cartoon drawn by Watts Phillips, who also contributed its politics and heavy literature. It contained a portion of a serial story, a set of verses, and a certain amount of scissors-work. All the rest of the original matter was mine.' Part of this original matter was a weekly column of 'Literary Talk,' in which, giving a friendly account of Dickens in one week, Yates made in the next some very unfriendly remarks about Thackeray, sneering at him in particular for 'cutting his coat according to his cloth,' showing 'extravagant adulation of birth and position' when lecturing to a fashionable audience, but making '"the four Georges" the objects of his bitterest attacks' when lecturing to Republicans in America. Yates said afterwards, 'No one can see more clearly than I do the silliness and bad taste of the article'; but when Thackeray angrily wrote to complain of it as 'slanderous and untrue,' the author, at Dickens's advice, replied that it was Thackeray's letter which was 'slanderous and untrue,' and he accordingly refused to make any apology or reparation. The immediate issue of this unfortunate quarrel was Yates's expulsion from the Garrick Club on the members' resolution 'that the publishing of such articles, being reflections by one member against any other, will be fatal to the comfort of the club, and is intolerable in a society of

gentlemen.'[1] A more remote and important issue was a considerable extension of personality in journalism.

The chief credit, such as it is, of reviving in its modern form this branch of journalism, however, must be assigned, not to Edmund Yates, but to E. C. Grenville Murray. Murray, whose father was supposed to be the second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, graphically described by him in his 'Young Brown,' was a favourite of Lord Palmerston's, who, in 1852, appointed him to an attachéship in Vienna, with secret permission to act as correspondent of 'The Morning Post,' the Palmerstonian organ at that time. Murray's letters were sent home in the Foreign Office bag, but some of them miscarried, and, instead of being delivered to the editor of 'The Post,' were returned as 'dead letters,' and thus reached Lord Westmoreland, the British minister at Vienna. The ambassador, first informed by them concerning his subordinate's extra-official occupations, indignantly demanded his dismissal. Murray was not dismissed, but transferred to Constantinople, and thence after a short time sent by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to act as vice-consul at Mitylene. This exile being irksome to him, he relieved its monotony by writing the 'Roving Englishman' series of articles which appeared in 'Household Words,' and by which, among other offences against the authorities, he brought general contempt on the great plenipotentiary, whose eccentricities he ridiculed under the character of Sir Hector Stubble. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe sought, as Lord Westmoreland had done, to get Murray removed from the service, but Palmerston's power was too great. At length, after about two years' squabbling, the obnoxious attaché was promoted to be consul-

[1] The whole story has been retold and commented on at length by Mr. Yates in his *Recollections and Experiences*, vol. ii. pp. 9–37.

general at Odessa. There he remained ten years, engaged in perpetual war with the English residents until, his patron being dead, and the Earl of Derby, then Lord Stanley, being foreign secretary, he received such different treatment that, throwing up his appointment, he returned to England and made literature his sole occupation.[1]

To Murray's instigation, though as much mystery as possible was maintained as to all the arrangements, must mainly be attributed the origination of 'Vanity Fair.' This earliest of the modern 'society journals' appeared on November 7, 1868, the price being then twopence, with the announcement that 'in this show it is proposed to display the vanities of the week, without ignoring or disguising the fact that they are vanities, but keeping always in mind that in the paying and selling of them there is always to be made a profit of the truth'—an ambiguous sentence, very ingeniously constructed. With the thirteenth number, for which a shilling was charged, a coloured caricature of Disraeli, the first of a famous series, was given, and after that the price was for some while sixpence, the paper being by that time considerably enlarged. To this smart and cruel weekly Murray was a regular contributor; but, bitter as it could be, he wanted a bolder channel for his spite, and with this object, in January 1869, 'The Queen's Messenger' was started.

'The Queen's Messenger' did not live long. In June there appeared in it an article on 'Bob Coachington, Lord Jarvey,' one of a series dealing with the politicians of former times, in which very plain language was used about the first Lord Carrington, who, being Robert Smith, the banker, before he was raised to the

[1] *Truth*, December 29, 1880 (containing an 'anecdotal photograph' of Grenville Murray); Yates, vol. ii. pp. 309-312.

peerage, had been serviceable in many ways to William Pitt. By way of punishing the reputed writer for the slanders on his father, the second Lord Carrington horsewhipped Murray at the door of the Conservative Club in St. James's Street on June 22, and for this assault a charge was preferred against him at Marlborough Street police court on July 7. 'After much wrangling,' according to the record, 'Mr. Murray denied the authorship of the article, but declined to answer the questions relating to his connection with the paper. A number of letters, articles in manuscript, and a corrected proof of an article were shown to him, but he declined to say whether they were in his handwriting. He admitted that he had written some articles in "The Queen's Messenger," but said he would rather have cut off his right hand than have written others. Lord Carrington was ultimately bound over to keep the peace in reference to one summons, and committed for trial on the second, charging assault. At the close of the proceedings a disgraceful struggle took place between the friends of the contending parties for the possession of a box containing papers relating to "The Queen's Messenger," and said to have been improperly transferred to the keeping of Lord Carrington's solicitor.' On July 17 Murray was charged at Bow Street with perjury in denying that he had written the article on 'Bob Coachington, Lord Jarvey,' and, after some evidence had been heard, he was admitted to bail on the case being remanded to the 29th. On that day he failed to appear, and 'the police magistrate refusing to give credence to the plea of sudden attack of illness in Paris, whither he was said to have gone to see his son, his recognisances were ordered to be estreated, and a warrant issued for his apprehension.'[1] The only result

[1] Irving, *Annals of our Time*, pp. 877, 881.

of those proceedings, however, was that Murray was kept out of England. He lived in France until his death in December 1880, taking the title of a Spanish lady whom he had married, and being known as Comte de Rethel d'Aragon.'[1]

'The Queen's Messenger' died in consequence of his flight; but he contributed profusely to 'The Daily News,' 'The Pall Mall Gazette,' and other papers, including 'Vanity Fair,' which profited much through the quickening of public interest in this sort of journalism by the Carrington-Murray scandal. Other 'society journals' were started to meet the demand for smart personalities and scurrility; but only 'Vanity Fair' survived until a new and vigorous competitor appeared in 'The World.'

The scheme of this fresh venture, in some respects more ambitious than any that had been yet attempted, was broached by Yates to Murray early in 1874, and promptly put into shape, these two being equal partners, the one acting as editor with absolute authority in London, and the other being a copious contributor from Paris. The first number of 'The World, a Journal for Men and Women,' appeared on July 8. It promised in the

[1] 'When in the humour,' says his biographer in *Truth*, presumably Mr. Labouchere, 'he was a brilliant conversationalist—humorous, caustic, and full of anecdote. In person he was slim, and rather below medium height, with well-cut features, exceedingly bright eyes, and with a face that lighted up when he was animated; but few of those who may have seen him in an old felt hat and a still older shooting-jacket, strolling along the boulevards or in the alleys of the Bois de Boulogne, would have imagined that they were in the presence of the ablest journalist of the century.' That closing assumption is open to question; but there can be no doubt as to his talents, with a spice of genius. Much of his writing was high-class hack-work. One editor recalls a visit from a respectable solicitor in 1871, who offered to supply him with any quantity of articles from Murray, on condition that payment should be made, not to the author direct, but to the solicitor, who stated that, Murray's brains being mortgaged to his creditors, only an allowance was made to him out of the income he earned.

prospectus, to be 'an amusing chronicle of current history, divested of the nonsense which has hitherto stuck like treacle to public business, so that apparently it could not be touched with clean hands'; to 'recognise women as a reasonable class of the community, whose interests should be equitably considered and their errors explained without levity or hysterics'; to publish 'that rarest of all things—candid reviews of good books, good plays, good pictures, and discoveries in science, treating them as the natural expression of the highest form of intellect, and actually bestowing honest praise on living genius'; and, among much else, to give 'the latest intelligence from the turf, the hunting-field, and the Stock Exchange,' in such ways as to 'vastly surprise those who are wont to look upon sport and city in their conventional aspect.' 'Politics, and even parliamentary proceedings deserving of attention,' it was said, 'will sometimes be discussed from any point of view from which there is a clearer prospect, or less of fog, than is usual. They will be good-naturedly removed from that queer eminence to which they have been hoisted by official vanity and departmental advertisements; they will be restored in safety to the proper place which good sense assigns to them in the concerns of nations; they will be made intelligible to rational persons, over whose minds at present they have little authority and less influence.' One of the chief functions of the paper was stated last, and more humorously than distinctly. '"The World,"' it was announced, 'has pleasant tidings for the court and aristocracy. It will receive contributions from people of rank who know anything worth communicating, and who can write a legible hand. The spelling and grammar of the nobility will be corrected; and manuscripts, when done with, will be discreetly buried at midnight during a thunder-

storm, in order that the capital sin of possessing intellect may never be brought home to anybody. Accounts with contributors to "The World" will be settled every week; and it is confidently believed that this inducement alone will be sufficient to secure a steady literary support from the great officers of state in a land whose peers and officials are among the keenest of customers.'

Yates's scornful pledge was so far kept that, though names were often told in whispers, no record has been made of the aristocratic contributors to the columns, always the most popular, detailing 'What the World says,' but about some of his other helpers the editor has himself told a good deal. From the commencement T. H. S. Estcott, then almost a novice in London journalism, wrote much on a great many subjects. Henry Labouchere wrote the articles on financial affairs, attacking in particular fraudulent stockbrokers and stockjobbers and dishonest moneylenders, which attracted great attention, and, by provoking threats of libel actions, effectively advertised the paper. The Earl of Winchilsea was for three months the sporting critic. 'Jezebel *à la mode*' was the first of a series of articles by Mrs. Lynn Linton. Other writers of prose were Dr. Birkbeck Hill and Camille Barrère—an industrious journalist in London before, his share in the Paris commune being forgiven, he became the favourite of Gambetta, and ultimately French minister in Egypt; to whom were added before long Archibald Forbes, J. Comyns Carr, Dutton Cook, E. S. Dallas, and, most serviceable of all, Henry W. Lucy, whose 'Under the Clock' chat about parliamentary proceedings was instructive as well as amusing. Contributions in verse came from Mortimer Collins, F. J. Scudamore, and Herman Merivale. Grenville Murray sent several 'Portraits in Oil'

from Paris; and, besides other writing, Yates supplied the first serial novel, 'A Decree Nisi,' being followed in this line by Wilkie Collins, Rice and Besant, Miss Braddon, Hawley Smart, Mrs. Forrester, and others. After a few weeks, in the course of which only 70*l.* was spent in advertisements, and the whole outlay was no more than 700*l.*, 'The World' was an assured success; and at the end of six months, a quarrel arising between the projectors, and the property being officially valued at 3,000*l.*, Yates became sole owner by paying Murray 1,500*l.* for his investment of 350*l.*[1]

If the popularity of 'The World' was largely due to its mild scandal and more or less impertinent tittle-tattle, it must be admitted that all this was far more harmless than anything of the sort that had yet been attempted on so large a scale. It amused many, gratified some, and offended only a few. The weaknesses and vanities of those gossiped about were more often humoured than seriously condemned, and, though to some of its subjects even this treatment was distasteful, flattery was generally preferred to spite. Stern treatment was, as a rule, reserved for such as might be supposed to merit it, and it was most frequent, where it was most allowable, in Labouchere's handling of city frauds and tradesmen's tricks. In the 'Celebrities at Home' series, one of the special and more attractive features of 'The World,' there was proper avoidance of the vicious discourtesies and wanton libels in which Murray and others had before indulged. The rule laid down, 'that no person should be made the subject of one of these articles without his or her consent having been previously obtained, and without full liberty, if they wished it, to inspect the article in proof before it was published,' inevitably weakened some of the articles,

[1] Yates, *Recollections and Experiences*, vol. ii. pp. 321-330.

and favoured inaccuracy in certain directions, but it afforded ample protection both for those who liked and for those who did not like to be thus 'celebrated.' The Prince of Wales was one of those who 'accorded immediate consent' to the proposal that he should be interviewed, and when this had been done by Archibald Forbes, 'his Royal Highness was pleased to express his full approval of the article.' Anthony Trollope was one of those who declined the honour. 'I allow that your articles are cleverly done, and without the least offence,' he wrote; 'also that you have many very distinguished people in your gallery. But I would rather not.' [1]

The prosperity of 'The World' encouraged many imitators and more or less successful or unsuccessful rivals. The first of any importance was 'The Whitehall Review,' started on May 20, 1876, by Edward Legge, who left 'The Morning Post' to combine with its 'society journalism' uncompromising Toryism and sturdy support of religious orthodoxy, and who followed the example of 'Vanity Fair' in issuing a weekly cartoon; the 'Leaders of Society' in 'The Whitehall,' however, being women, and not caricatured. Of shorter life was 'Mayfair,' of which a preliminary 'Christmas number' appeared on December 19, 1876, and which was regularly begun as 'a Tuesday journal of politics, society, and literature, unambitiously illustrated,' on January 2, 1877. The editor of 'Mayfair' was Henry W. Lucy, whose clever 'Under the Clock' sketches in 'The World' had pleased so many readers that it was hoped they would suffice to make the new venture successful, especially as Lucy and his friends announced that, though they would not reject wealth if it came in their way, their sole aim was 'to discuss the fashions of

[1] Yates, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332, 333.

the day in a manner unaffected by considerations of mere expediency.'[1] There was some smart writing, and there were humorous little drawings mixed up with the letterpress, in 'Mayfair'; but the contents were unequal and awkwardly put together. Lucy soon withdrew from the speculation, and after other efforts had been made to keep it alive, it came to an end in December 1879. Even more disastrous to its promoters was another paper, 'Pan,' which commenced smartly with illustrations by Alfred Thompson, and with contributions by Grenville Murray, Sala, and others, but which very soon collapsed, being edited during part of its short career by David Anderson. In the meanwhile another speculation by another seceder from the staff of 'The World' had proved thoroughly successful. In 'Truth,' which was started on January 4, 1877, two days later than 'Mayfair,' Henry Labouchere improved upon his experiences under Yates, and was able to give freer utterance to his opinions in politics as well as on social concerns.

Labouchere had had wide experience in other ways before he made journalism one of his professions. After a short and stormy university career, he continued his education by two or three years' wandering about in America, for a part of the time as member of a travelling circus; and he was in America for two or three years longer as an attaché in Washington, after he had entered the diplomatic service. There and elsewhere, in Russia, Germany, Sweden, Italy, and Turkey, he gave nearly as much annoyance to ambassadors and the Foreign Office authorities as did Grenville Murray, though by different conduct. It was his boast that gaming-tables and other pleasure resorts occupied him too much for any time to be left for his official duties, but

[1] *Mayfair*, December 19, 1876.

he was more given to making friendships than enmities, and when he parted company with his employers he bore them no particular ill-will.[1] He settled down in England in 1864, when he was thirty-three, and had sat in Parliament, first for Windsor and then for Middlesex, before 1868, when he became one of the proprietors of 'The Daily News.' His 'Diary of a Besieged Resident in Paris,' contributed to that paper, gave striking evidence of his capacity as a journalist, and other evidence appeared in his contributions to 'The World.' His personal acquaintance with the ways of 'bulls' and 'bears' on the Stock Exchange, of extortionate money-lenders, and of other disreputable people, enabled him to write with such vigour and precision as were rare, and almost unparalleled, in this line of newspaper work. After two and a half years' employment on 'The World' he was well qualified to make profitable use of all his varied experience as proprietor and editor of 'Truth.'

This was perhaps the only paper ever published which more than paid its expenses from the first number, and a few weeks' experimenting resulted in many improvements that increased its popularity and its consequent value as a property. In the 'Entre Nous' columns of 'Truth' there was less fashionable gossip but more of biting satire and straightforward fault-finding than in the corresponding portion of 'The World.' In these columns, as well as in others, moreover, along with the social chit-chat and the personal scorn, not seldom relieved by good-natured paragraphs, there was plenty of outspoken Radicalism, variable in its tone and sometimes illogical, but always smart and often forcible in its utterance. As was to be expected, Labouchere was generally at his best in his exposure of commercial and

[1] Hatton, *Journalistic London*, pp. 97–103.

financial scandals; but he contrived to make nearly every page of 'Truth' thoroughly readable. In lieu of a long novel, as in 'The World,' each number contained a 'Queer Story,' generally supplied until his death by Grenville Murray. The 'Anecdotal Photographs,' given each week, almost from the first, if not so uniformly complimentary as the 'Celebrities at Home' in 'The World,' were generally quite as accurate and frequently more instructive. The notices of new plays and other amusements were always vivacious and for the most part just in their criticism. 'Truth,' moreover, was exceptionally fortunate in securing as a contributor from Paris Mrs. Emily Crawford, the wife of the 'Daily News' corrrespondent, whose long residence in France and close intimacy with Victor Hugo, Gambetta, Clémenceau, and every one else of note in France, male or female, during two generations, enabled her to describe the details of political and social life with remarkable precision and truthfulness, her sound judgment and keen sense of humour having at their service a facile pen. Credited with writing a large portion of 'Truth' himself, Labouchere was lucky in his choice of assistants.

Of the younger 'society journals' little needs to be said. 'Life,' commenced six months after 'Truth,' sought favour rather by its daintily executed illustrations—reproductions of foreign pictures being for some time given in alternate weeks with portraits of 'fashionable beauties,' actresses and others, by Frank Miles—than by its written matter. 'Society,' also dating from 1879, had a curious origin and progress. Its precursor was 'The British Mercantile Gazette,' which had given with its drier contents a weekly budget of gossip. This proved so successful that George Plant, the proprietor and editor, shrewdly expanded it into a separate penny

paper which, issued on Wednesdays, also answered so well that in December 1880, a threepenny Wednesday 'Society,' copiously illustrated, was added to the venture. Another change took place in the autumn of 1882, when the price of the paper, then published only on Saturdays, was raised to sixpence, and so continued for some time until it was deemed expedient to revert to the original style and price. Meanwhile a rival, 'Modern Society,' appeared in 1880, and a 'Modern Truth' was started in 1886; the charge for each being a penny, and no great effort being made to achieve literary eminence or to do more than repeat the jokes and information provided by the costlier papers. The taste developed in recent years for this sort of reading has been abundantly catered for, and the result, if not dignified or refining, is perhaps an advance on the penny novelettes on which formerly, milliners, ladies'-maids, and others chiefly depended for their literary entertainment.

Before the penny 'society journals' appeared, there had been several enterprises somewhat akin to them, the most noteworthy being 'Figaro,' started by James Mortimer in 1870, as a Saturday penny miscellany, which essayed satirical handling of political and social as well as theatrical affairs, and was at one time so successful that during a few years a twopenny 'Figaro' was also issued on Wednesdays. The influence of 'society journalism' and its comic adjuncts, indeed, has shown itself in many of the more sedate journals, daily and weekly. Just as Yates amused readers of 'The Illustrated Times' and 'The Morning Star' by his 'Lounger' and 'Flâneur' columns, other papers found it convenient to string together chatty paragraphs dealing with rumours or facts that were hardly suitable material for leading articles. This was especially the

case with the country papers, for which, as has been noted, 'London letters' were long ago prepared. On the other hand, nearly all the 'society journals' have made it their business to discuss, though usually in more playful or mocking terms than were formerly deemed proper, grave political questions and whatever else was of general interest in the events of the day. The influence of 'Truth' and 'The World' and their pioneers on newspaper work has been as marked in some directions as that of 'The Saturday Review' has been in others.

'The Saturday Review,' itself open to the charge of flippancy, has had a very beneficial influence in one field of journalism where the work of its more flippant rivals has been, if anything, pernicious. In criticism and literary culture it set an example that was much needed in 1855. 'The Athenæum' had been in existence for twenty-seven years, and had done immense service as an organ and censor of literature, with more than incidental reference to movements in science and art. 'The Literary Gazette' was also still alive, and there were several weekly papers, 'The Leader,' 'The Critic,' and others which, following the plan of 'The Examiner' and 'The Spectator,' paid special attention to these subjects along with their reports and comments on political and general affairs. Nearly all the daily papers, moreover, included new books, as well as new plays and other novelties, among the subjects dealt with in their columns. All this criticism, however, was apt to be slipshod and often very uncritical. Though 'The Athenæum' continued to be the great literary authority among newspapers, it had lost value as a safe and impartial guide before Hepworth Dixon became its editor in 1853, and Dixon's showy writing and encouragement among his contributors of the strong expression of likes

and dislikes frequently grounded on nothing worthier or safer than personal friendships or animosities, or subservience to publishers and advertisers, caused its steady deterioration from year to year. 'The Saturday Review,' though often more anxious to be smart than to be just, and, written chiefly by men intolerant of everything not bearing the university stamp, had excellent effect in raising the standard of criticism, and this was shown, not only in the improved tone of many of the existing weekly and daily papers, but also in several new enterprises.

One such was 'The Reader,' which, 'The Literary Gazette' having died and 'The Athenæum' having reduced its price to threepence in 1862, was commenced as a large fourpenny 'review of current literature' on January 3, 1863. 'Totally unconnected with any publishing firm,' it was announced, '"The Reader" will show favour to all works of sterling worth, without caring through what channel they come before the public.' Its first editor, amiable, high-minded, and zealous, was John Malcolm Ludlow, and among the writers whom he gathered round him were, in alphabetical order, Shirley Brooks, Llewellyn Davies, Edward Dicey, Albert Dicey, H. R. Fox Bourne, F. J. Furnivall, Francis Galton, Richard Garnett, Mrs. Gaskell, P. G. Hamerton, Frederic Harrison, Thomas Hughes, Holman Hunt, R. H. Hutton, Charles Kingsley, J. Norman Lockyer, Frederick Denison Maurice, Laurence Oliphant, Mark Pattison, William Michael Rossetti, Canon—afterwards Dean—Stanley, and Leslie Stephen. Ludlow's honesty, however, and especially his interpretation of the pledge given in the sentence just quoted, were too much for those who found money for the undertaking and expected to make money by it, and after a few months he was replaced by David Masson, who in

his turn, after a few months' trial, and for the same reason, resigned the editorship. 'The Reader' had grievously deteriorated and had lost all the strength it possessed in the days of its brilliant commencement before April 7, 1866, when the price was reduced to twopence, and there was no cause for regret in its death on July 28 in the same year.

A more cautious and at the same time more ambitious effort at cultured literary journalism was begun three years later, on October 9, 1869, when the first number of 'The Academy' appeared as 'a monthly record of literature, learning, science, and art.' After January 1871 it was issued fortnightly, and in January 1874 it was converted into a weekly paper, the price being lowered from sixpence to fourpence. Its projector, and editor till his death in 1879, at the age of thirty-eight, was Charles Edward Cutts Birch Appleton, a genuine student and an enthusiast in the cause of learning, of refined taste and æsthetic sympathies, but inclined to scholastic pedantry and—as the name he chose for the paper implied—to academic arrogance. 'A critical journal,' he said, 'was demanded which should neither praise indiscriminately nor blame from pique or prejudice, one on which the general reader might rely for guidance through the waste of superficial and ephemeral literature by which he is surrounded, and through which he has neither time nor perhaps the ability to guide himself; a journal which should systematically survey the European literary and scientific movement as a whole, and pass judgment upon books not from an insular, still less from a partisan, but from a cosmopolitan point of view; a journal, lastly, in which only permanent works of taste and real additions to knowledge should be taken into account, and in which the honesty and competence of the reviewer should be

vouched for by his signature.'[1] Formidable signatures were appended to some of the articles in the first number—those, namely, of Matthew Arnold, Sidney Colvin, T. H. Huxley, John Lubbock, Mark Pattison, and John Conington ; and these and many other scores of writers contributed, more or less abundantly, to the subsequent numbers during Appleton's nine and a half years' editorship, and afterwards. 'The Academy' prospered enough to live, though the anxieties incident to it are considered to have caused the premature death of its estimable conductor, and its influence on modern culture is not to be measured by the extent of its circulation ; but it failed, partly through faults in its plan, to achieve the pre-eminence it aimed at.

One of the functions proposed for itself at starting by 'The Academy' was usurped and skilfully performed by a friendly rival, only a month later in the field. 'Nature,' commenced on November 4, 1869, gave remarkable evidence of the demand that had arisen for sound yet popular information on scientific affairs, and of the philosophical yet practical way in which that demand could be met. Its editor, Norman Lockyer, who had come to the front as a scientific journalist in the columns of 'The Reader,' and who had since done much other work, was well suited for his post, and he had invaluable help from Charles Darwin, Huxley, Stanley Jevons, Lubbock, Roscoe, Tyndall, and nearly every one else able to speak intelligibly and with authority on matters of special research and general knowledge. 'Nature' soon became, and has since continued to be, the recognised channel for the communication to the public of new discoveries and fresh criticisms by capable inquirers in nearly every branch of physical research, and even more than that.

[1] *Academy*, October 22, 1870.

'The Athenæum' profited by the competition it had to face. Matters were not mended under Hepworth Dixon's sway, but after the death, in 1869, of the first Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, son of the Dilke who had become its sole proprietor in 1830, a great reformation took place, the new proprietor having an able assistant in Norman MacColl, who succeeded Hepworth Dixon as editor. Some old writers were parted with, and a great many fresh contributors were found. While special departments, such as science, art, music and the drama, were of necessity entrusted to regular hands, indeed, the reviewing of books, now more than ever the principal business of 'The Athenæum,' was distributed over a very large staff, the plan being to assign each work to a writer familiar with its subject and competent to deal with it intelligently, but rigidly to exclude personal favouritism or prejudice, and to secure as much impartiality as possible. The rule of anonymity has been more carefully observed in 'The Athenæum' than in most other papers. Its authority as a literary censor is not lessened, however, and is in some respects increased, by the fact that the paper itself, and not any particular critic of great or small account, is responsible for the verdicts passed in its columns.

Of some other, and very extensive, developments in various lines of class journalism since 1861, it is not necessary, or possible, here to say much. Each, to be adequately dealt with, would claim a long chapter to itself; and of the merits and demerits, the aims and achievements, of the numerous competitors or associates in several groups, it would be rash for an outsider to speak. So it is particularly with the religious newspapers, of which more than a hundred have appeared, representing different sections of opinion within the limits of the Church of England, and among dissenters

from it, since 'The Record' was started in 1828; with the organs of the naval and military, the legal and the medical professions; and with the numberless trade organs, of which some, like 'Iron,' an outgrowth of 'The Mechanics' Magazine,' which was started in 1823, and 'The Builder,' dating from 1842, are of long standing and wide repute, while others, like 'The Hairdressers' Weekly Journal,' commenced in 1881, and 'The Shoe and Leather Record,' commenced in 1886, are of recent origin and narrow scope.

Among commercial and financial journals, 'The Economist' has had many rivals since 1861. The first of importance was 'The Money Market Review,' begun in 1862, which, dealing more exclusively with monetary affairs, left 'The Economist' in undisputed possession of the questions of broad commercial policy, and of its political connections, to which it had all along paid great attention. 'The Bullionist' followed in 1866, 'The Financier' in 1870, and 'Money' in 1872. By this time every daily and nearly every weekly paper of general politics had come to pay close attention to city concerns, and especially to the operations of the Stock Exchange; but few of them were free from suspicion of making improper use of their opportunities for propping up unstable companies and promoting risky speculations. 'The Times' was, during some years, particularly notorious and obnoxious for this offence, which, gross as it was, was not easily to be prevented, seeing that editors and proprietors, if they were themselves proof against temptations to serve personal friends, and to accept comfortable bribes through roundabout and specious agencies, were at the mercy, so long as they retained them, of the clever writers whom they employed. 'The Times' was partly relieved of the scandal attached to it in this way by the dismissal of its very

unworthy city editor, in 1874, and one of Labouchere's earliest and most successful achievements, while he was writing on such affairs in 'The World,' was his indignant denunciation of this culprit, though that was not done till after he had been made aware of the intended change. There was great need of such a crusade against dishonest financiers and their jackals as Labouchere entered upon, and what he and others following him did was useful in many ways; but the crusaders' virtue was lessened by the fact that many of them even were open to dangerous influences, and in the way of being prompted by considerations of self-interest. It was with the view of giving really honest and well-grounded information and opinions on financial affairs, and of discussing cognate matters in an impartial spirit, that in 1878 Robert Giffen started 'The Statist,' which since then has been the principal rival of 'The Economist.' In 1884 'The Financial News' was commenced as the first daily record of monetary events, 'The Financier' only appearing on five days in the week.

Sports and amusements of all sorts are now looked after by nearly as many special journals as are serious pursuits and business concerns. Here, as in the case of trade and finance, the ground has always been touched upon, and sometimes freely traversed, by the general newspapers, as part of the miscellaneous information required by their readers; and several of the papers devoted to what are sports and amusements to the majority are more or less in the nature of trade journals for those whose business it is to entertain others. But these pleasure papers constitute a distinct and important group, in which divers kinds of pleasure-taking are severally represented, with more or less aggregation and confusion of different interests.

'The Field,' on the score of dignity, though not of

age, ranks first in the list. This 'country gentleman's newspaper,' started in 1843, was one of many with which Bradbury and Evans were connected, both as printers and as proprietors. Its earliest editor was Mark Lemon, and Leech supplied illustrations of hunting adventure. One of its owners was Benjamin Webster, the actor, who in time acquired the whole property, not then lucrative, and by him it was sold to Serjeant Cox, in whose hands 'The Law Times' had proved very successful, and who soon afterwards included 'The Queen' in his well-managed and profitable newspaper-producing establishment. 'The Field' soon became a comprehensive repository of information on every sort of rural pastime, treating of agricultural matters and natural history, as well as of hunting, shooting, coursing, fishing, racing, yachting, cricket, and other occupations, and recording foreign experiences and observations along with interesting and noteworthy occurrences at home. Edited and subedited by men competent to deal satisfactorily with the various sections of the paper, and not stinted in its arrangements for collecting accurate information, it came to be indispensable in every country house, and as such its advertising connection ensured its further success. It left room, however, for many competitors, the chief of which, in more serious directions, were 'The Sporting Gazette,' commenced in 1862, and converted into 'The County Gentleman' in 1880; 'Land and Water,' commenced in 1866, and 'The Fishing Gazette,' commenced in 1877.

Older than 'The Field,' and for a long time supreme as an authority upon one class of aristocratic and popular amusement, was 'Bell's Life in London,' itself an outgrowth from 'Bell's Weekly Messenger,' and 'The Weekly Dispatch,' both of which had been started by the same proprietor. 'Bell's Messenger,' dating from

1796, had led the way as a chronicle of agricultural affairs and all matters incidental thereto, and its prosperity had induced the establishment, in 1801, of 'The Weekly Dispatch,' intended to deal with politics in general, and particularly with pugilism and the kindred sports patronised by George IV., before he was king, and all his friends. During twenty years 'The Dispatch' was the leading representative of the prize-ring, with Radicalism in politics as one of its minor features. It acquired political importance, however, and in 1822 its pugilistic connection was directed into a new channel, 'Bell's Life in London' being then established, and almost exclusively devoted to that branch of journalism. 'The Era,' commenced in 1838, mainly as a weekly organ of the licensed victuallers, and supplementary to 'The Morning Advertiser,' paid considerable attention to sporting affairs, as also did several other papers; but 'Bell's Life' held its ground against all rivals, following the fashion in giving prominence to horse-racing as an occasion for betting, when that began to supersede pugilism, until 1859. In that year George Maddick and S. O. Beeton assisted in the production of a 'Penny Bell's Life,' which, edited by Henry M. Feist, known as Augur, and a great authority in the sporting world, soon proved a formidable opponent of the high-priced veteran whose title it had appropriated. A law-suit ensued, and the proprietors of 'Bell's Life' succeeded in suppressing the piracy; but they could not suppress the paper. Appearing on Wednesdays and Saturdays as 'The Sporting Life,' the new publication throve so well that in April 1881 it began to be issued four days a week, and in March 1883 it was converted into a daily paper. After struggling vainly against this rivalry during many years, 'Bell's Life' succumbed in May 1886, when it was merged in 'The Sporting Life.'

All branches of what is known as sport, in the contracted and technical use of the term—that is, horse-racing, coursing, pedestrianism, rowing, swimming, cricket, pugilism, and other athletic exercises, both on their own account and as opportunities for betting—being dealt with in 'The Sporting Life' much more copiously than by its forerunners, it had in 1865 to face the opposition of two new papers, 'The Sportsman' and 'The Sporting Times.' In 'The Sportsman' special attention was given to horse-racing in its betting relations, one of its innovations being the reporting, not merely of races and of the condition of horses from the time of their being entered for particular races, but of the training of the animals from the commencement of their careers. In this way something like a reform was effected in gambling operations. A semblance of honesty was introduced into the business, and it was no longer possible for the public to be beguiled into speculating upon animals about which nothing was known. A fresh, and in other respects unhealthy impetus, however, was thus given to 'sport'; and its training reports became such an attractive feature in 'The Sportsman' that, at first issued thrice a week, it was able to be converted into a daily paper in March 1876, seven years before 'The Sporting Life.' 'The Sporting Times' has continued to be only a Saturday paper, and has thriven less upon its racing news than upon its profusion of coarse and scurrilous scraps of tittle-tattle, representing 'society journalism' in its most degraded form. Another paper, 'The Sporting Clipper,' finding its special business in the giving of 'tips,' was started in 1872, and many others followed at later dates, some to be short-lived, both in London and in the provinces. It is a more curious than agreeable fact that, besides receiving more or less attention from nearly every

general newspaper, 'sport' should have so many prosperous journals exclusively devoted to it.

Another important section of class journalism has to do with theatrical affairs, although for guidance and information about new plays outsiders look rather to the ordinary newspapers than to the organs of 'the profession,' as it calls itself. Though not so intended when it was commenced, 'The Era' had come to be such an organ long before 1862, and it stood almost alone until 1869, when the rise of music-halls in public favour led to the establishment of 'The Entr'acte' as the chronicler and exponent of their productions. 'The Stage' followed in 1881, 'The Topical Times' in 1883, and 'The Dramatic Review'—more ambitious in its style and more independent in its aims—in 1885.

It is somewhat strange that 'The Weekly Dispatch,' of which 'Bell's Life in London' was an offshoot in 1822, should have had another, and a not altogether dissimilar, offshoot more than half a century later. The fame of Henry Sampson as a sporting critic, writing for several years as Pendragon in 'The Dispatch,' led to the establishment of 'The Referee,' under his editorship, on bold and original lines, in 1877. Primarily a sporting paper, containing 'Sporting Notions' by Pendragon, 'Turf Notes and Anticipations' by other hands, and a full report for Sunday reading of the latest news in every branch of sport, 'The Referee' also furnished notices of Saturday night performances at the theatres, and four or five columns of 'Dramatic and Musical Gossip' on the occurrences of the previous week-days. Political and social affairs, moreover, were discussed in one or two leading articles in each number, and a special attraction was a three-column assortment of 'Mustard and Cress,' dealing humorously with all sorts of contemporary concerns, great and small, by George R.

Sims, writing as Dagonet. The paper thus gave, in its eight crowded pages, for a penny, comments on political as well as on sporting and theatrical matters, and joined with them some of the liveliest functions of 'society journalism' and of the professedly comic sheets. Its criticisms on all questions were singularly outspoken and independent, and, while more rollicking in its wit, though at the same time more refined, and certainly more honest, than most of the publications with which in various respects it competed, 'The Referee' stood almost quite alone, with the exception of 'Truth,' in its Radicalism. Treading each week, in every column, on dangerous ground, it incurred some actions for libel, and on one occasion was mulcted in heavy damages; but the novelty and vigour with which it was conducted speedily secured for it a large circulation, and a position of great authority on the questions with which it particularly dealt.

There is yet another variety of class journalism to be referred to. Most of the papers published in London, though giving more or less prominence to metropolitan news, concern themselves so much with political and other affairs of general interest, that they fail to satisfy local requirements; and to meet these requirements special papers, corresponding in some respects to the provincial journals in their original plans and purposes, have been established. 'The City Press,' started in 1857, was not the earliest London local paper; and a few others of older date still exist, 'The Hammersmith Observer' and 'The South London Journal,' for instance, having been commenced in 1855. 'The City Press,' however, now published twice a week, stands foremost among about twelve dozen local papers issued in the metropolis or its immediate suburbs. Ably conducted in many respects, it is the champion of the

London corporation, and of 'vested interests' in general, and therefore obnoxious to the reformers, in whose interests 'The Citizen' was established, as a weekly paper, in 1877. Of smaller influence than either of these is 'The Metropolitan,' which in 1872 appeared as a supporter of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and a chronicler of the proceedings of other local bodies, and with it may be ranked 'The School Board Chronicle,' its senior by a year. Some of the suburban papers, such as 'The South London Press,' 'The Marylebone Mercury,' 'The East London Observer,' and 'The Richmond and Twickenham Times,' are as enterprising as were the best of the provincial papers a generation ago. Politics, however, if dealt with at all in such papers, are perforce made subservient to minor interests.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ANTIQUITIES AND NOVELTIES.

1874—1886.

THE latest stage in the political history of newspapers dates from the general election of 1874—not the first that was held after the passing of the Reform Act of 1867, which had considerably altered the distribution of power among the various sections of the community, but the first after the changed conditions of parliamentary work had been apprehended by the electorate, and after the constituencies had had opportunities of judging both how that work had been done and how it should have been done. 'For nearly five years,' Disraeli wrote to Lord Grey, in October 1873, 'the present ministers have harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country. Occasionally they have varied this state of civil warfare by perpetrating some job which outraged public opinion, or by stumbling into mistakes which have been always discreditable and sometimes ruinous. All this they call a policy, and seem quite proud of it; but the country has, I think, made up its mind to close this career of plundering and blundering.' In those strictures there was not only gross exaggeration, but, except in the last particular, manifest untruth. 'The country,' however, was of Disraeli's opinion. At the general election of 1868 the Liberal majority in the House of Commons had been 115.

When Disraeli wrote it had dwindled down to less than fifty, and Gladstone's Irish University Bill was defeated by a majority of three. At the general election of February 1874 the Conservative majority was forty-six.

The newspapers did much to bring about this result. Among the London morning journals 'The Daily News' and 'The Daily Telegraph' had been almost alone in strenuous support of the closing acts and proposals of the Gladstone administration. The independent organs of Radicalism had been nearly as outspoken as the Tory organs in condemning many features of its policy. There was a rallying of the Liberal forces when the constituencies were called upon to decide whether Gladstone should be retained in office or should be superseded by Disraeli. But only those who were more loyal to men than to measures, who preferred partisanship to principle, could put much zeal into their efforts; and, on the other hand, a large part of the press was pledged to the assistance of class interests that the expiring government had assailed and to the encouragement of grievances it had created. 'The Morning Advertiser' was by no means the only newspaper that fought fiercely under the banner of 'Beer and the Bible,' but it was just now, for the first and last time in its history, nearly the most powerful journal in England. It must be remembered, too, that though the provincial papers were rapidly gaining ground, they were, with but few exceptions, as yet only struggling into strength. The London papers still dominated the country, and not many of them were heartily Gladstonian.

The chances of Liberal cohesion and revival, in the newspaper world as well as in parliament, were weakened by Gladstone's abdication of the leadership of the party, informally notified in his letter to Lord Granville in March 1874, immediately after the verdict had been

given against him at the general election, and formally consummated, as it was thought, in February 1875, after a year of disorganisation and turmoil. All sections of Liberals, except the candidates for promotion in each, agreed in deprecating and deploring his retirement; but idle lamentation, as usual, did not promote vigour. The party was not brought into a healthy or compact condition when, with Lord Granville as titular head, the differences as to the respective claims to leadership in the House of Commons were smoothed over at Gladstone's bidding by the selection of Lord Hartington in preference to Sir William Harcourt, Forster, or Goschen; and newspaper editors who looked to their party chiefs for guidance were unable to follow out any consistent and important lines of policy. Toryism in general, and Tory journalism in particular, gained by this Liberal confusion.

The confusion was useful, however, in so far as it allowed or compelled the journalists to think more for themselves and encouraged in many a spirit of independence, which increased their influence upon intelligent readers. So it was especially outside of London. The country newspapers, rising in circulation every year, acquired more and more value. Freed from the overpowering weight of metropolitan opinion, each great provincial town became a political as well as a commercial or industrial metropolis for its own district, and had efficient political instruction, not merely on local affairs but also in views on imperial questions, more or less modified by local considerations, from such newspapers as 'The Manchester Guardian' and 'The Liverpool Daily Post,' 'The Scotsman' and 'The Glasgow Herald,' 'The Leeds Mercury' and 'The Newcastle Chronicle,' 'The Birmingham Daily Post' and 'The Western Morning News.'

The troubles in south-eastern Europe, commencing in July 1875 with the insurrection in Herzegovina, and culminating in the war between Russia and Turkey, which began in April 1877, gave new life to Liberal newspapers, especially in London, and to political journalism of all sorts. Every leading paper had several correspondents distributed over the disturbed districts, and received from them each day long reports of stirring events there, which not only were of absorbing interest to their readers, but also supplied ample materials for forcible leading articles. Gladstone, coming back from his retirement, took the lead in a great popular movement, which restrained the Conservative administration from active participation in the war, and secured the recognition of some long-despised principles of international duty and policy. Though the now apparently reunited Liberal party and the journalists in its service were able to do little in controlling the government, the way was being steadily prepared for the great change that occurred when the time came for another parliament to be elected. In all this controversy the part played by journalists was considerable, and perhaps at no previous time had their influence been so great. The influence was not all in one direction, however, and though the balance of strength was on the Liberal side, the contending forces were about evenly matched in numbers.

Not for the first time in its ninety years' career, but more curiously than on most previous occasions, 'The Times' wavered between the two sides. 'We have got into a pretty mess,' Gladstone wrote to Abraham Hayward on October 10, 1876. '"The Times" appears to be thoroughly emasculated. It does not pay to read a paper which next week is sure to refute what it has demonstrated this week. It ought to be prohibited to change sides more than a certain number of

times in a year. As to the upper ten thousand'—for whom, of course, 'The Times' chiefly wrote—'it has not been by the majority of that body that any of the great and good measures of our century have been carried, though a minority have done good service.' 'After reading "The Times" of to-day,' Hayward replied on the following morning, 'you will be tempted to improve on your proposal and prohibit them from changing sides more than once in twenty-four hours. The first article is anti-Russian, and the second still more decidedly anti-Turk.'[1]

There was some excuse for the infirmities of 'The Times' in those days. Though not yet sixty, Delane had been in harness, as its editor, for five-and-thirty years, and could not but be worn out by his arduous labours. What those labours were, and how he strove to perform them, we may infer from the apology offered by a friend of Delane's after his death. 'An editor, it has often been said, sometimes not very seriously, must know everything,' we read. 'He must, at least, never be found at fault, and must be always equal to the occasion as to the personal characteristics, the concerns, the acts and utterances of those who are charged with the government of this great empire. But this is only one of many points, some even more difficult, because more special and more apt to lie for a time out of the scope of ordinary vigilance. With a large class of critics a small mistake counts as a large one, but everybody is liable to make mistakes, and an editor labours under the additional danger of too readily accepting the words of writers, some of whom will always be too full of ideas to pay needful attention to such matters. These are days of blue-books, of enormous correspondence, of tabular returns, of statistics twisted into every

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. ii. p. 267.

possible form, of averages and differences—always on supposition—to be carefully remembered, of numerical comparisons everybody challenges if they are not in his own favour, and of statements that, if they possess the least novelty or other interest, are sure to be picked to pieces. It frequently happens that a long night's work has to be thrown away, including many carefully revised columns of printed matter, to make room for an overgrown parliamentary debate, a budget of important despatches, or a speech made in the provinces. Often has it been said at two in the morning that a very good paper has been printed and destroyed to make way for a paper that few will read—none, perhaps, except a few parliamentary gentlemen looking out for passages which, if they don't read well, must have been incorrectly reported. As an instance of what may happen to an editor, the quarterly return of the revenue once came with an enormous error—an addition instead of subtraction, or *vice versâ*. The writer who had to comment on it jotted down the principal figures and the totals, which were unexpected, and returned the original for the printers. It was not till an hour after midnight that, on a sight of the return in print, the error was perceived, and corrected, without a word of remark, by the paper. Of course the comments had to be rewritten and carefully secured from error. The work of an editor can only be appreciated by those who have had the fortune to have some little experience of it. The editor of a London daily newspaper is held answerable for every word in forty-eight and sometimes sixty columns. The merest slip of the pen, an epithet too much, a wrong date, a name misspelt or a wrong initial before it, a mistake as to some obscure personage only too glad to seize the opportunity of showing himself, the misinterpretation of

some passage perhaps incapable of interpretation, the most trifling offence to the personal or national susceptibility of those who do not even profess to care for the feelings of others, may prove not only disagreeable but even costly mistakes; but they are among the least to which an editor is liable. As it is impossible to say what a night may bring forth, and the most important intelligence is apt to be the latest, it will often find him with none to share his responsibility, his colleagues being either pre-engaged on other matters or no longer at hand. The editor must be on the spot till the paper is sent to press, and make decisions on which not only the approval of the British public, but great events, and even great causes, may hang. All the more serious part of his duties has to be discharged at the end of a long day's work, a day of interruptions and conversations, of letter-reading and letter-writing, when mind and body are not what they were twelve hours ago, and wearied nature is putting in her gentle pleas. An editor cannot husband his strength for the night's battle by comparative repose in the solitude of a study or the freshness of green fields. He must see the world, converse with its foremost or busiest actors, be open to information, and on guard against error. All this ought to be borne in mind by those who complain that journalism is not infallibly accurate, just, and agreeable. Their complaints are like those of the court lord who found fault with the disagreeable necessities of warfare.'[1]

Delane can hardly have been subjected to such an intolerable strain as those words imply; but his responsibilities were stupendous—hardly less, or less complicated and various, than those of a prime minister, and he bore them through all the bustling years from

[1] *Times*, November 22, 1879.

1841 to 1877. Required both to follow public opinion in seeming to lead it and to lead in seeming to follow it, always to conserve as much as he could whether professing to be Liberal or Conservative, and always to favour, as Gladstone said, 'the upper ten thousand' as against the millions, it was inevitable that the rare, almost unexampled, capacities Delane possessed for the editing of a great newspaper should deteriorate in the course of so long a term, and that the faults with which he started, but which were merits in the eyes of those he served as conductor of 'The Times,' should increase with years. Few men had seen so much, or done so much for good and for evil, and none had ever seen or done so much in connection with the progress of journalism as he when he died, at the age of sixty-two, on November 22, 1879. A memorable company of writers and workers on 'The Times'—Thomas Chenery, Leonard Courtney, James Caird, Henry Reeve, John C. Macdonald, and many others—were gathered together on December 1, when the venerable Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne, the S. G. O. of a quarter of a century before, read the service at his burial.[1]

Two years earlier, in October 1877, Delane had retired from the editorship of 'The Times.' His successor was Thomas Chenery, less known to the public as a journalist than as a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, professor of Arabic at the university of Oxford, translator of 'The Assemblies' by El Hariry, and learned editor of Jehudah Ben Shelomo Alkharizi's 'Machberoth Ithiel.' All Chenery's oriental studies, however, had been incidental or supplementary to his work on 'The Times.' He had been its correspondent

[1] *Times*, December 2, 1879.

in Constantinople during the Crimean war; and after that he had been a constant writer on various subjects for the paper.

Opinions differed as to his fitness to succeed Delane. 'Chenery, the new editor, has just called, and we had a long talk,' Hayward, now a frequent contributor, wrote on December 12, 1877. 'I like him very much. I think he will make "The Times" all it should be.'[1] 'Lord Beaconsfield,' with whom Yates was conversing at Brighton, 'said he had heard "that he held a chair of Arabic somewhere," but did not consider that a very essential qualification for the editor of "The Times." I ventured to traverse this statement,' Yates adds, 'and told him that Mr. Chenery was an excellent journalist, and had twenty years' experience of the traditions of Printing House Square. "But is he versed in social diplomacy like Mr. Delane? That is an important part of his duties," said Lord Beaconsfield.'[2]

Since 'The Times' had become a convert to his foreign policy, if not to all his tactics on home affairs, Lord Beaconsfield had learned to think more highly than in former days both of Delane and of the social diplomacy in which Delane had excelled, and he had not much reason to complain of the tone of the paper after the change in the editorship. 'The Times' under Chenery, after some wavering, was more energetic and consistent in its advocacy of Beaconsfieldian views than it had been, and it fell altogether out of sympathy with Liberal movements. In these years there were some important changes in its staff. Leonard Courtney, one of its principal leader writers since 1864, and other staunch Liberals gave place to newer men, among them being E. D. J. Wilson, whose opinions, on Irish questions

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. ii. p. 287.
[2] Yates, *Recollections and Experiences*, vol. ii. p. 139.

especially, were in accord with those which, on grounds of principle or of expediency, were now selected for vehement utterance in the paper. '"The Times" seems to have taken a turn towards fury,' Gladstone wrote in September 1878, 'an amusing variation. There have been few duller newspapers for the last three years, and they seem to wish to rival Delane in his decay.'[1]

Nor was Gladstone satisfied at this time with 'The Daily News.' 'I think,' he said in the letter just quoted from, 'they have often made improper admissions, and do not drive the nail home as it ought to be done by a really vigorous opposition paper, such as "The Morning Chronicle" of Perry.' Yet from 'The Daily News' Gladstone and the opposition obtained all the support that could be given, under the earnest if somewhat cynical editorship of Frank H. Hill, by the flowing rhetoric of Justin McCarthy, the indefatigable partisanship of P. W. Clayden, and other assistance from a staff in which were included William Black, George Saintsbury, Henry W. Lucy, and many other able writers. Perhaps it was impossible for any particular nails to be driven home with sufficient vigour when two of the proprietors of 'The Daily News' were men with as strong and diverse individualities as Samuel Morley and Henry Labouchere. The paper had to be made acceptable both to orthodox and zealous dissenters and to men who regarded life as a game and politics as only a form of gambling.

There was bolder and, to many readers, more persuasive writing in 'The Daily Telegraph'; but 'The Telegraph' was now more anti-Gladstonian than 'The Times.' With the shifting of premiers Gladstone-worship had given place to Disraeli-worship, and in Edwin Arnold and his colleagues the Beaconsfield administra-

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. ii. p. 298.

tion had enthusiastic supporters. Its ablest champion, however, being both genuine and discriminating, was 'The Standard,' which, strong before, gained fresh strength from a change in the management in 1876.

James Johnson, who, on becoming its proprietor in 1857, had practically made a new paper of 'The Standard,' died in 1876, appointing as its sole and irremovable controller William Henry Mudford, the son of the old editor of 'The Courier' and other papers, who had for some time been a writer on its staff. Mudford straightway proceeded to further improve the paper, and to make it, not less honestly Conservative than before, but too independent and consistent in its politics to please either the timeservers or the irreconcilables of the party. At one time, indeed, some of these irreconcilables were so indignant at the plain-speaking of 'The Standard' that they threatened to take proceedings in the Court of Chancery in the hope of upsetting the arrangement under which Mudford acted as trustee of the property. The threats came to nothing, however, and Mudford continued to edit the paper in such ways as he deemed best for its interests and for the interests of progressive Conservatism. The Beaconsfield government, while it lasted, was zealously but intelligently supported. When Gladstone returned to power, his measures were closely criticised, and whenever they seemed objectionable, zealously opposed; but Mudford's aim was to be guided by principle, not by party whim, and, avoiding all factiousness, to be as steady and impartial as he could be in enforcing the views that he held to be patriotic.

'The Standard' has flourished, and the party has been well served, by perseverance in those lines. With George Byrom Curtis as his chief assistant in the editorship, Mudford has had as his principal leader writers

T. H. S. Escott, while his health allowed, Alfred Austin, and T. E. Kebbel, other help coming from Colonel Brackenbury, Demetrius Boulger, Frances Power Cobbe, Sutherland Edwards, Dr. Robert Brown, and many more, and especially, as city editor, from Alexander Wilson, a great authority on all matters of finance, and a fearless exposer of unsafe speculations. In Hely Bowes and Dr. Abel, 'The Standard' has had Paris and Berlin correspondents of exceptional ability and trustworthiness, and in its special correspondence during and since the Russo-Turkish war, it has shown more enterprise than even 'The Daily News.' The list of its special correspondents includes the names of J. A. Cameron, who was killed in the Soudan, Professor Palmer, who was murdered by the Arabs, Frederick Boyle, and G. A. Henty.

An attempt to supersede 'The Standard' had been made by seceders from its staff, and had failed, before Mudford took charge of it. David Morier Evans, who, previously connected with 'The Times,' had been city editor of 'The Morning Herald' and 'The Standard' since 1857, started 'The Hour' in March 1873, taking with him Captain Hamber as political editor. The speculation was altogether disastrous, however, and after Evans had worried himself to death and others had lost much money over it, it was abandoned in 1876. Another and an almost amusing venture in Tory journalism was 'The Daily Express,' commenced on May 1, 1877, and concluded on August 25 in the same year. In the last number it was stated that it had been started 'as an experiment, and with only sufficient capital to try the experiment, whether there was a demand for a church paper, conducted on church principles, and designed for the perusal of churchmen.'

More fortunate was 'The Daily Chronicle,' which first appeared as a political penny paper on May 28,

1877, but with noteworthy antecedents. 'The Business and Agency Gazette' had been started in January 1855 as a weekly sheet, containing nothing but advertisements and given away to residents in Clerkenwell, as it was hoped that the advertisements would defray the expenses of publishing and yield a profit. This hope not being realised, the little paper was in the following May converted into 'The Clerkenwell News,' and sold for a halfpenny, some scraps of local intelligence being added to the advertisements. It was thus the first of the London district newspapers, and in its altered form it answered so well that in the course of the next ten years it was gradually increased in size, furnished with a larger quantity of news, and issued more frequently. It appeared successively twice, thrice, four times, and five times a week, until in April 1866 it became a daily paper, the price being generally a halfpenny, except when a penny was charged for double numbers. The title had in February 1866 been altered to 'The Clerkenwell News and London Times,' the 'London Times' being printed in small type till the autumn of 1869, when the 'Times' was brought out so boldly that the proprietor of 'The Times' protested. The paper was, therefore, re-named, and it appeared during the next six years as 'The London Daily Chronicle and Clerkenwell News.' Through all these changes it prospered. The charge for short advertisements being very low, it obtained plenty of them, and had a large circulation extending all over London, and in 1876 it was so valuable as a commercial property that Edward Lloyd, the founder of 'Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper,' bought it for 30,000*l.*, with the object of further expanding it into a rival of the regular newspapers already in existence. That was done as soon as Hoe machines could be obtained from New York and set up in the

reconstructed premises in Fleet Street; the machines, of an improved kind, being so efficient that 25,000 copies could be printed, cut, folded, and counted in an hour. These arrangements and others that followed, in accordance with Lloyd's resolve—that he would continue to spend upon his new enterprise whatever was necessary during five years without stint—involved an outlay of 125,000*l.* in addition to the purchase-money. The issue justified all this boldness.

'The Daily Chronicle,' edited by Robert Whelan Boyle, and with an adequate staff of writers, so far adhered to its traditions that, securing plenty of advertisements by continuing to insert them at a lower charge than that made by most other daily papers, it paid special attention to metropolitan concerns, both in its reports of news and in its leading articles; but, as was shown by its special correspondence during the Egyptian campaigns, in which Phil Robinson and Charles Williams were its representatives, and on subsequent occasions, it competed zealously in all respects with the other daily papers. Radical at starting, it has only followed the chief current of London opinion in opposing lines of action approved by many Radicals.

The recent turning of currents is notably illustrated in the fortunes of one clever journal and its outcome. 'The Pall Mall Gazette' had been conducted by Frederick Greenwood with great vigour and talent during fifteen years before the spring of 1880. It had drawn to itself some of the best writers of 'The Saturday Review,' which it imitated and often improved upon in the brilliance and pungency of its well thought-out articles on literary, scientific, artistic, and other subjects, as well as on political questions. In politics it was as independent, and aimed at being as impartial, as it was in its handling of other concerns. It de-

clined to be called Conservative, and was frequently at variance with the Tory party; but it always regarded with suspicion, if not with aversion, not only Gladstone and the steady supporters of his administration between 1868 and 1874, but also its Radical critics, whether of the school of Cobden or of the school of Mill. On all questions of foreign policy especially it was 'anti-Radical,' its editor's views thereon coinciding with those of one of the ablest of his early contributors, Percy William Smythe, afterwards Lord Strangford. Steadily insisting on the observance of all our 'imperial responsibilities' in relation to other nations, to India and our colonies, 'The Pall Mall' on this latter ground particularly became more and more opposed to Gladstonian opinion, and more and more in agreement with the Beaconsfield administration. So anti-Russian, that it was considered by many to be Turcophil, it approved and encouraged all Lord Beaconsfield's proceedings, and came to be recognised as the most outspoken and thoroughgoing of the 'Jingo' organs. In these ways Greenwood fell out of harmony with the proprietary of 'The Pall Mall,' and when, at the time of the general election in April 1880, which gave the Liberals a majority of fifty over both Conservatives and Home Rulers, the ownership of the paper was transferred from George Smith to his son-in-law, Henry Yates Thompson, a change of editorship became necessary. The number for May 1 contained the announcement that 'Mr. Frederick Greenwood, who has had the editorial direction of "The Pall Mall Gazette" since the date of its first publication till now, will not be responsible for any political opinions that may appear in its pages after to-day.' 'One short month ago we were a discomfited little company of writers, with reek intolerable smoked out of our ancient quarters,' was the

less graceful statement made in the first number of 'The St. James's Gazette,' which Greenwood produced on May 31.

The personal quarrel that led to the starting of a new paper which was in all essentials a continuance of 'The Pall Mall Gazette' with an altered title, and quickened to fresh energy by its competition with the appropriator of its former name, was in itself interesting to outsiders; but more important were its political bearings. In 'The St. James's Gazette' Greenwood, H. D. Traill, Adam Gielgud, and all the other able writers whom he took with him from Northumberland Street to Dorset Street, were as brilliant and pungent as ever, and they were certainly more 'anti-Radical,' which—intolerance being the rule with those who in our later days have arrogated to themselves the title of Radical, and all independence in thought or action being intolerable to them—was regarded by those they opposed as an equivalent term to Tory. 'The St. James's Gazette,' however, persevered in the lines it had marked out for itself, and with signal success. It was a trenchant, if often too indignant and ungenerous, critic of the second Gladstone administration through its five years' life, opposing the Conservatives as zealously as the Liberals when it saw occasion for doing so, and has been a powerful factor in the political settlements and unsettlements that have taken place or have been in process since it was started.

In the editorship of 'The Pall Mall Gazette' Greenwood was succeeded by John Morley, whose early Radical work on 'The Morning Star,' when he was a disciple of Cobden, and yet more on 'The Fortnightly Review,' when he was a disciple of Mill, had marked him out as a mighty journalistic champion of Radicalism. Even when he was writing for 'The

Saturday Review,' and not out of sympathy with its vigorous upholding of orthodox opinions and institutions in politics and religion, Morley had been discovered by Mill as a bold thinker with singular skill in the expression of his thoughts, and Mill had helped him in the way of enlightenment; and when, some fifteen years later, he became editor of 'The Pall Mall,' his broadened experience, extended observation, and thorough mastery of the arts of authorship, had qualified him to be a statesman among journalists. 'The Pall Mall' in his hands was a vehement and forcible exponent of most of the views on home and foreign policy, on domestic reform and international duty, which had been put forward by Gladstone in his Midlothian speeches, and by Bright, Fawcett, Chamberlain, Dilke, and others, and to which, with Chamberlain and Bright in the cabinet, and Fawcett and Dilke holding important posts outside it, it was reasonably expected that due effect would be given. The new government, however, disappointed those who had hoped most from it, especially by its despotic treatment of the Irish, its aggravation of foreign complications, and its postponement of nearly all the reforms it was pledged to undertake; and it was not easy for a consistent Radical to conduct a newspaper which was designed to be a ministerial organ. There were other reasons, besides his undertaking the arduous duties of a member of parliament in February 1883, for Morley's retirement from the editorship of 'The Pall Mall,' and after that, William Thomas Stead succeeding to the office, it entered on a new career.

Stead had been for some years editor of 'The Northern Echo,' an enterprising and very successful halfpenny morning paper started in Darlington in 1869 as the first of the provincial imitators of the London

'Echo,' before he was appointed sub-editor of 'The Pall Mall' under Morley. The opinions he had arrived at as to the proper functions and methods of journalism, in dealing with political and all other matters, if not altogether original or much more than revivals or adaptations of very old-fashioned arrangements and hitherto more approved in the United States than in England, were promptly introduced into 'The Pall Mall' as soon as he had full control over it. 'Interviewing,' long common with foreign correspondents, and cautiously adopted nearer home in such series as 'Celebrities at Home,' in 'The World,' was now freely resorted to in the case of any politician, religionist, social reformer, man of science, artist, tradesman, rogue, madman, or any one else, who cared to advertise himself or his projects or pursuits, and in whom the public could be expected to take any interest. The skill in what at first they called 'the Americanisation of English journalism,' but what they afterwards designated as 'the new journalism,' was the boast of both the editor and the proprietor of 'The Pall Mall,' and they boldly applied it alike to national and individual, political and social ends, dressing out their 'interviews' with dramatic or melodramatic, minutely accurate or judiciously imagined details, enforcing them by strongly-worded leading articles, and supplementing them by specially prepared and selected columns of news. They took credit for having, by arousing public opinion at the suitable moment, caused General Gordon to be sent to Khartoum, and for having brought about other grave embarrassments in public affairs. They claimed to have procured or hastened an important change in the law for the protection of young women and children by an elaborate combination of very ugly facts and specious fabrications in a set of articles, un-

exampled in their way, entitled 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon.' As self-constituted censors of public morals and reckless pursuers of private objects, they dabbled in forthcoming questions for the divorce court and other judicial tribunals, and were lavish in insinuations and innuendoes when the scandalous details they sought for were scanty or had no existence. In these and all such ways they secured for 'The Pall Mall' a considerable reputation which, whether the general effect was good or bad, evidently answered the purpose of the producers; and it must be acknowledged that by other and less questionable devices they increased the popularity of the paper. There was mild precedent for some of the developments of 'the new journalism' in the account of his workhouse adventures by 'An Amateur Casual' in one of the earlier numbers of 'The Pall Mall,' as there had been long before in the writings of Charles Dickens, Henry Mayhew, and others, and long before that in the writings of Defoe, Steele, and others; but the merit, such as it is, of a certain amount of originality and novelty is due to these latest travellers in the field of sensationalism.

'The Pall Mall Gazette' and 'The St. James's Gazette,' reducing their prices from twopence to a penny in 1882, came then into more direct competition with 'The Evening Standard' and 'The Globe,' which, however, especially the former, aimed at supplying the readers with a good store of late news rather than with lengthy comments on the events of the day or more miscellaneous matter. 'The Echo,' continuing to be published at a halfpenny and doubled in size, maintained its general character as a vigorous Radical evening journal during several changes of proprietorship. Never a profitable speculation in the hands of its founders, it

was sold by them in 1874 to Albert Grant, who in turn soon transferred it to John Passmore Edwards, the owner of 'The English Mechanic' and other literary property. From him it passed for a short time to Andrew Carnegie, a New York capitalist, who undertook to control a number of 'Echoes' in various parts of the country, but from whom it again reverted to Passmore Edwards, to flourish under his management, notwithstanding the opposition of 'The Evening News,' which was started as a halfpenny rival to it in 1881. Conservative in politics, but otherwise emulating in coarser ways the policy of 'The Pall Mall Gazette,' 'The Evening News' looked chiefly to copious reports of divorce cases and such-like matter for popularity.

The latest of the cheap daily papers in London is the oldest of all in its origin. In 1882 Sir Algernon Borthwick, some twenty years after he became its editor, and about five years after it had become his sole property, and when it had attained the venerable age of a hundred and ten, reduced the price of 'The Morning Post' from threepence to a penny, but without altering its main characteristics as a detailer of 'fashionable intelligence,' combined with zealous Tory partisanship. It became, indeed, under the editorship of William Hardman, who was also chairman of the Surrey sessions, much more of a party organ than it had formerly been, when James Knowles, before he commenced 'The Nineteenth Century,' and Frank Hugh O'Donnell were among its leader writers.

Of the three high-priced weekly papers which paid most attention to political affairs and had most influence in politics, 'The Spectator' and 'The Guardian' were, till 1885, if not always steady supporters of Gladstone's policy, steady opponents of Lord Beaconsfield's. 'The Saturday Review' had long since become as much

of a Tory organ as its claim to be independent of party admitted. But 'The Saturday Review' had lost weight after the death of its singularly able founder, John Douglas Cook. Even its fame and its popularity had, on other than commercial grounds, been injurious to it. Its success as a paper containing an average of twenty pages of original writing led to an increase of size, and to maintain a high standard of work throughout thirty or more pages every week was more than could be expected from Cook's successor, Philip Harwood, or from Walter Pollock, who followed Harwood in the editorship.

More important as evidence of the progress of political opinion in London in recent times than the high-priced weeklies, or even some of the dailies, are its cheap weekly papers. 'The Saturday Review' and 'The Spectator,' 'The Guardian,' 'The Economist,' and many others of the same or kindred varieties, prepared for particular sections of readers, are circulated among those several sections throughout the country, and thus, narrow as they may be in some respects, are in others more or less cosmopolitan. 'The Times,' moreover, and some other London daily papers, in less proportion, also travel far and wide for the use of readers not satisfied with the admirably contrived and comprehensive journals produced in their own districts; but the modern competition has localised them considerably, and very much lessened their value either as an index or as a guide of opinion outside the metropolis. So it is, yet more, with most of the cheap weeklies. Nearly every country town has at least a Saturday paper of its own, giving as much general information and criticism as its subscribers care for or have not easy access to from other sources. In the old days, when there were few or none such, the cheap 'Lloyd's,' the costlier

'Reynolds's,' and, before them, the yet costlier 'Weekly Dispatch,' had, for those times, enormous circulation and immense influence; and relics of these yet remain, though it is significant that the penny London paper which has by far the largest provincial sale is 'The Weekly Budget,' hardly heard of in London, and consisting chiefly of fiction, but with a large assortment of news items, judiciously collected and strung together, with hardly any comment and as little political bias as possible. The extension of political journalism has caused, and is continuing a complete revolution which, with one or two exceptions, affects the cheap weekly press of London more than any other sort of newspaper property. One consequence of the change is that papers of this sort now more exclusively and exactly than before reflect and guide, or should reflect and guide, the opinion of Londoners, and especially of the working classes. Their importance may be inferred from the fact that their aggregate circulation during the past few years has been scarcely less than a million and a half a week.

Among these cheap papers 'Lloyd's Weekly News' takes precedence, both as the first to be sold for a penny and as, partly on that account, the one with by far the largest circulation. Though Douglas Jerrold edited it from 1852 till his death in 1857, 'Lloyd's' only attempted to give a few columns of smart original writing as spice to a carefully prepared epitome of the week's news, with fuller reports of the latest information for Sunday reading; and when Blanchard Jerrold followed his father as editor, with Thomas Catling soon afterwards as sub-editor, yet more attention was paid to news than to political guidance. Before Catling succeeded to the chief control, experience had proved that readers of 'Lloyd's' were well content to have as much

interesting information about recent events as could be crowded into the closely printed pages, with but a small mixture of political teaching, Radical as far as it went. 'Lloyd's' is pre-eminently a popular paper of news, and as such has achieved a success unparalleled in its way.

It has been otherwise with 'Reynolds's Newspaper,' which was started in 1850 as a fourpenny record of social and political scandals, set forth in such detail and with such comments as might prejudice aristocratic institutions with many readers and amuse all. It was reduced in price to a penny, not so soon as 'Lloyd's,' but soon enough to secure a very large circulation in London, and yet more in the north of England, where Chartist opinions held their ground, and where it acquired an authority which it has since maintained. Styling itself 'democratic,' and aiming always at more Radical changes than have been included in any recognised Radical programme, it is the successor of 'Cobbett's Register' and 'The Poor Man's Guardian' rather than of either Leigh Hunt's or Albany Fonblanque's 'Examiner,' and, since the rise of English Socialism, it has been more in sympathy with the Social Democratic Federation than with any less revolutionary movement. Not giving so comprehensive a summary of general news as is furnished by 'Lloyd's,' but affording ampler space to the occurrences supporting its arguments, and propounding those arguments in forcibly written articles, in which rhetoric is oftener employed than logic and economical laws are made subservient to sentiment, 'Reynolds's' is a formidable spokesman for the most irreconcilable portions of the community.

Of 'The Weekly Dispatch' a somewhat fuller account may be given. This famous promoter of Radicalism in the days of James Harmer and William

Johnson Fox had allowed itself to be far outstripped by 'Lloyd's' and 'Reynolds's,' before January 1869, when its price was reduced from fivepence to twopence, and neither that change nor the further lowering of price to a penny in August 1870 helped it to regain its ground under careless management. It was at a very low ebb when Ashton Wentworth Dilke bought it and, with the first week of 1875, began to reconstruct it as an honest and enterprising working-class paper. Its altered quality was soon discovered, and it rose so rapidly in circulation that fresh offices had to be taken and new machinery provided. Conducting it himself for a year and a half, Dilke placed the editorship in other hands in the summer of 1876 ; but he continued to take a close and constant interest in its progress, writing much for it at times, and either sanctioning or suggesting all the attempts that were made to improve it, until his death on March 12, 1883, when his age was only thirty-three. It was with his concurrence that 'The Dispatch' was throughout ten years a thoroughly independent exponent of advanced Radical opinions, bound to no party, but zealous in supporting all that it approved and criticising all it saw reason to object to in the policy of the Liberal leaders as well as of others, and also seeking to join with its political writing as much literary and other matter as there was room for in the space not required for the record of each week's news. Its aims were in advance of any hitherto proposed for a penny weekly paper, and that they were not in vain was shown by the greatly increased circulation and influence of 'The Dispatch.'

Aiming especially to be an adequate working-class journal, 'The Dispatch' carefully followed and discussed the various trades union and other industrial questions of the day in their political and economical relations,

commending or blaming as a spirit of fairness seemed to require, and gaining respect and influence by its impartiality. The conditions of various trades and of those employed in them, in town and country, and the need or chances of amelioration by effort on the part of the workers themselves or by legislative action, were discussed in detail by competent writers, and particular attention was paid to the various political questions in which the working classes were particularly concerned; among them London government and financial reform, ecclesiastical abuses, and amendment of the House of Lords. Of lighter sort, and with fictitious colouring, but all intended to call attention to remediable defects in our social arrangements, were long series of sketches by George R. Sims, James Runciman, Richard Dowling, Arthur Sketchley, George Manville Fenn, and many others ; and among the leader writers were James Allanson Picton, Colonel Robert D. Osborn, Eliza Orme, John Macdonald, Thomas Purnell, and Robert Williams, to whom must be added as a contributor of exceptional service Mrs. Emily Crawford, who sent every week from Paris a chronicle and exposition of French politics, more serious in its Radical purport than her lively communications to 'Truth.'

'The Dispatch' was an outspoken critic of all the proceedings of the Beaconsfield government, and it criticised as boldly all the proceedings of the Gladstone administration that followed. It protested, at starting, against the great preponderance of Whigs in the cabinet formed after the general election of 1880 had given so clear a 'mandate' in favour of Radical reforms ; and it protested afterwards persistently against the lack or insufficiency of remedial domestic legislation, against the perversion of authority by enforcing a mischievous and disastrous despotism in Ireland instead of accord-

ing to its people the full measure of local government and complete independence as regards their own affairs to which they were entitled and with which they might then have been satisfied, and—along with much else to the same or like intent—against the reckless blundering incident to all our dealings with Egypt and the carrying on of the war in the Soudan. While the Reform Bills of 1884 and 1885 were in progress, it pointed out from week to week what it considered to be grave errors and pernicious defects in them, and warned the Radicals who applauded them of the heavy misfortunes which, as consequences of those errors and defects, have since befallen them. 'The Representation of the People Bill,' as it said, 'left whole sections of the community, though fully entitled to the franchise, without any place in the representative machinery, and gave an inordinate amount of political power to "the classes," which Mr. Gladstone was not then as anxious as he is now to put in due subordination to "the masses." The Redistribution of Seats Bill, abolishing the old three-cornered constituencies, which had not worked at all well as an experiment, divided the entire country, with a few exceptions, into single-member constituencies, approximately but not exactly equal in size, in each of which a bare majority of voters could elect its member, leaving quite unrepresented a minority that might be scarcely less than half of the whole, and thus leaving vast numbers of capable citizens in the aggregate of the constituencies without any spokesmen in parliament.'[1]

The ten years' heresy of 'The Dispatch,' in venturing to claim for Radicals the right of thinking and acting for themselves and in urging them to make no more surrender of their independence than an honest opportunism prescribes, culminated in its opposition to

[1] *Weekly Dispatch*, January 30, 1887.

the Irish Home Rule and Land Purchase Bills brought forward by Gladstone in 1886. It had all along insisted, as Bright, Mill, Fawcett, and many others had done, on complete justice, political and social, being rendered to the Irish people, and it reiterated this view during the general election of 1885. It deprecated, however, the sudden adoption by the Gladstonians of a policy they had hitherto condemned and gave reasons for regarding that policy as impolitic, inexpedient, and injurious alike to the Irish and the English. It looked with distrust on the projects of the third Gladstonian administration, and when those projects, defeated in parliament, led to another general election, it objected to such a 'mandate' being given by the constituencies to Gladstone as would empower him to deal with Irish and all other affairs, during the lifetime of the parliament elected as his echo, in any way he chose. 'We do not for a moment doubt,' it said, 'that Mr. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule was genuine, and as conscientious as may be his conversion a year or more hence to disestablishment of the Church or abolition of the House of Lords, should either of these courses be necessary means to his acquisition or retention of power. Mr. Gladstone is always genuine and conscientious in adopting such views of national policy as he thinks the majority of the nation—that is, of the electorate—desires; but, with all respect be it said, when he has decided that the nation—that is, the electorate—wishes a course to be taken, he claims to himself the right of shaping this course in ways satisfactory to his own mind.'[1] To allowing any one, however popular, and with whatever credentials, to assume such a position of supremacy 'The Dispatch' objected, on general even more than on special grounds, the summing up of which may be quoted to show the

[1] *Weekly Dispatch*, January 30, 1887.

attitude taken up by the paper, between 1876 and 1886, as regards Radical politics at large.

'The very life of Radicalism,' it was said, 'consists in free inquiry and independence of thought. The Radicalism that rejects these may be excused, but it is ignorant; and until a better rule prevails, until we reach such a stage of political education as enables the people to think intelligently and discriminatingly for themselves instead of accepting their opinions ready made from any one else, Radicalism will be in a bad way. The great weakness of democracy is that it makes easy the path of demagogues. Monarchs and oligarchs generally know their own minds, and, unless they are shams and not worthy even to bear such contemptible titles as those of monarchs and oligarchs, contrive to get pretty much what they wish for. But democrats are many-minded, and, without such wide intelligence as helps them to keep their impulses, however generous, in check, and by mutual guidance to combine to reach safe ends by safe means, they are fickle and rash, and in peril at every turn of being misled by demagogues, who may be none the less misleading because their zeal is unselfish and they are as amiable as clever. A demagogue need not be a bad man—he may be an altogether estimable man in many respects; but, as a demagogue, he cannot fail to be mischievous. The ruin of all the old democracies was in the opportunity they allowed to demagogues, well-meaning or ill-meaning, to rise to power, with a *vox populi* as their mandate, and then to mould the popular will into compliance with their own. Democratic institutions have been of such slow growth in England, and are still so far short of completeness, that we need be in no fear yet of their downfall. But we can hinder or hasten on their progress according to the use to which

we allow the powers we are acquiring to be put. We Radicals make merry, and also express some alarm, about the Tory democracy that had Disraeli for its apostle a generation ago, and now has Lord Randolph Churchill ; and there is reason both for our alarm and for our merriment. But how about ourselves and our own aspirations after a truer democracy? The prospects of Radicalism, which is or should be synonymous with true democracy, cannot be bright so long as it consents to make anything like a demagogue of even the best and wisest man living—as some consider that Mr. Gladstone is.'[1]

The utterance of such sentiments, Ashton Dilke being dead, was not thought helpful to the Gladstonian scheme for dealing with Irish or other affairs, and a new editor was found for 'The Weekly Dispatch' in January 1887.

Three other cheap Sunday papers of long standing need only be briefly referred to, as whatever political importance they formerly had has dwindled away. 'The Weekly Times,' most resembling 'The Weekly Dispatch' in its general plan, had considerable influence for many years after it was started in 1847, circulating extensively in the provinces before the competition of local journals became serious. It was bought in 1884 by Passmore Edwards, who soon afterwards amalgamated it with 'The Weekly Echo,' an ambitious but unsuccessful Sunday paper, which had been commenced while 'The Echo' was in the hands to which he had transferred it; and since then the combination has appeared as 'The Weekly Times and Echo.' 'The News of the World,' once famous also, has for some time contained little more than selections from the news supplied by the daily papers. 'The Sunday Times,' Radical and influential

[1] *Weekly Dispatch*, January 30, 1887.

under the management of Daniel Whittle Harvey and some of his successors, lost ground on its becoming a Conservative organ, and was further injured by the secession of many of its writers to 'The People' when that journal was founded in October 1881.

With the exception of 'England'—a Saturday miscellany, which appeared in April 1880 as 'the only national and Conservative weekly newspaper for all classes,' and which undertook to propound the views of Ashmead Bartlett and his brother William Burdett-Coutts, on foreign and domestic affairs, and latterly to be the special organ of the Primrose League as well as of the Fair Trade League—'The People' is the only recently started exponent of Tory opinions through the cheap weekly press. An offshoot of 'The Globe,' and edited at first by Dr. Sebastian Evans, it has judiciously kept its partisanship within narrow bounds. Limiting its political writing to a column or two each week, it has followed the lead of 'The Weekly Dispatch' in devoting much space to lively articles on social and general subjects, with, however, a larger proportion of fiction. Issuing a novel by Zola, and other novels by Wilkie Collins, Grant Allen, and others, its plan has been rather to furnish a large budget of readable matter for Sunday amusement, including all the important news of the week, than much political guidance.

For such guidance in Tory lines Londoners have to look chiefly to the high-priced weeklies, among which 'The Observer' holds a place of its own as the only Sunday paper dealing with the day's news nearly as fully and exclusively as the other six days' news is dealt with by the weekday morning journals, and to those morning journals. In the latter many noteworthy changes were brought about by the political crisis that may be considered as having begun in

1880 and as not yet concluded; but with these, for the most part, newspaper readers are too familiar for it to be necessary to make much mention of them.

'The Times,' having given a hearty support to nearly all the measures of Lord Beaconsfield's government, was a severe critic, and often a violent opponent of the Gladstone administration. 'It was a great point to secure "The Times,"' wrote Abraham Hayward on April 24, 1880, on the morning after he had paid a night visit to the new premier, just returned from Windsor with authority to form a new cabinet; 'so, after being told the exact state of things, I went off in the middle of the night to the "Times" office, where I saw Chenery, the editor, an intimate friend of mine, and the first leading article of to-day was the result.'

But Hayward's experiments as a diplomatist between friends in Downing Street and friends in Printing House Square were not so successful as those of Greville and others in former days. The diplomats, and the ministers, and the editors, and the papers themselves, were all different. Chenery did not see his way to enter into any alliance with Gladstone, even if such had been sought from him. On all the great questions at issue 'The Times' only supported the government when both were in the wrong. It encouraged meddling in Egypt and elsewhere, coercion in Ireland, postponement of domestic reforms, and, with few exceptions, used all its influence in promoting mis-

[1] *Correspondence of Abraham Hayward*, vol. ii. p. 315. Another amusing extract from this book (vol. ii. p. 320), pointing to one line of deterioration in *The Times*, may here be quoted. 'When Mrs. Langtry made her private *début*,' we are told, the date being December 1881, 'the late Mr. Chenery expressed his relief at discovering that Mr. Hayward possessed a ticket for the performance, and was willing to write a notice of it. The critique was short and wisely moderate; but it struck the keynote which the press of two countries at once took up.'

chievous undertakings everywhere; but it gave no help to any of the Radical movements that Gladstone had sought and obtained authority from the constituencies to further. When Chenery died, on February 11, 1884, and George Earle Buckle succeeded to the editorship, there was no change in the general policy of 'The Times.' Such change as ensued showed itself especially in 1886, when the Gladstonian assent to the Home Rule demands of the parliamentary leaders of the Irish Nationalist party led to a series of violent and vindictive attacks on Gladstonians, as well as on all who were regarded as associated with them, culminating in what was alleged to be a convincing exposure of the enormities of 'Parnellism and Crime.' If 'The Times' was right in its main contention, there were many who thought that the force of its arguments was weakened by the passionate vehemence of their presentment. In this, however, 'The Times' only adhered to its traditional policy.

While the same cause of offence to all who were not able to follow Gladstone in his conversion to Home Rule merely provided 'The Standard' and 'The Morning Post' with fresh material for upholding Conservative opinions, it strengthened 'The Daily Telegraph' in the abandonment of Liberalism of which it had given signs long before; and it induced 'The Daily Chronicle' to recognise as leaders Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Hartington rather than Gladstone and John Morley. 'The Daily News' was left to stand alone among the London morning papers as the Gladstonian champion, and its championship was not deemed adequate.

'The Daily News' had surpassed all its rivals, as heretofore, by its special correspondence during the Egyptian and the Soudanese campaigns, throughout

which John Macdonald was its chief representative; but it had suffered in some respects through the zeal shown by it in foreign enterprises, not only in war time but on all occasions, great or small, which could afford material for the smart writing of the clever men in its employ. Of those men Archibald Forbes was but the most conspicuous among several. They were men too serviceable to be dispensed with, and to be allowed to pass out of reach when opportunity might arise for them to make the use of their pens for which they were best fitted. It was therefore necessary to find work of some sort for them, and the work was found in ways not altogether helpful to the paper. Forbes, for instance, was more at home on a battle-field than at a meeting of the British Association; and though, if sent to Ireland to describe a street riot, he might be trusted to furnish a long and graphic account of all its incidents, there was more risk of inaccuracies in such a narrative being detected than there would be if his theme were some foreign occurrence witnessed by few Englishmen, or none, besides himself. There was waste of power, to say the least, in much of the skilful writing that appeared in 'The Daily News,' and along with this there was scanting of the more prosaic work of leader writing, requiring, as it does, such intimate knowledge of the complicated machinery of politics, and such thoughtful observation of current affairs, as those who are special correspondents by profession cannot be expected to have taste or training for. From these and other causes 'The Daily News,' deservedly popular in war time, was not successful as the main exponent and promoter, in the London press, of the Gladstonian policy to which it was loyal in intention. As a revolution of some sort was considered necessary, Frank Hill was summarily dismissed early in 1886 from the

editorship he had long held with dignity. With him went Justin McCarthy and some other of his old writers. Henry Lucy, who succeeded him, introduced certain novelties into the paper, but with so little advantage that a year's experience proved the expediency of another change.

The time had passed, however, for any rearrangements of editors or writers on any of the London papers to restore or to maintain for them their old supremacy. Provincial journalism, which had been steadily growing in every way, took a new start during the time of the Russo-Turkish war. All mechanical obstacles to its progress had been removed before then, and the paths were clear for their full development so soon as public questions of absorbing interest arose on which provincial journalists, as capable in most respects as the London journalists, could write with clearer apprehension of local opinion, and in truer sympathy with it. The Russo-Turkish war and its connection with English politics were only part, and foremost in time, of those modern questions. Our enterprises in Afghanistan, in South Africa, in Egypt and elsewhere, were of the same sort. The excitement incident to the procuring of the Reform Acts of 1885, and all the discussion of local reforms and of general reforms with special bearings in divers localities, bore lasting effects. The fresh controversy that sprang up concerning Irish grievances, no new subjects but newly stated, and the various inferences drawn therefrom as regards self-government, land law amendment, and much else, constituted the latest, thus far, and the most disturbing of the forces by which much that was formerly imperial in journalism has been localised, and by which provincial journalism, fully prepared for the growth, has come to be in many respects imperial

thus depriving metropolitan journalism of its old claim to be the only imperial journalism, but not debarring it from being, if right use is made of the altered conditions, as serviceable and as dignified as heretofore.

The progress of provincial journalism in recent times is very remarkable, and eminently suggestive. A proper setting forth of its history, however, would involve not only a detailed account of some dozens of separate enterprises, but also a careful inquiry into the causes and issues of the wide differences of opinion which have arisen in various parts of the country; and it may not be attempted here. Country newspapers had been growing and multiplying, during nearly two centuries, as small weekly sheets, before the removal of the stamp duty and the paper duty cleared the way for mighty developments springing from many sources of national expansion which fiscal burdens could only hinder; and their history throughout the past generation, if scarcely more interesting, is vastly more important than that of the previous six or seven generations. Both interest and importance have increased, moreover, since 1874. In the lines of farther advance made by metropolitan journalism provincial journalism has shared; and where that has lost ground, it has gained in most respects.

In the south of England, where, with a few exceptions, country newspapers were first in the field, they have, with a few exceptions, been laggard in their progress. This, as regards the home counties, is chiefly due to the predominance of London and the convenience of communication with it. Brighton has four daily papers and nearly a dozen others, but it is so much of a suburb of London that its local journalism is rather suburban than provincial; and the same may

be said, with modifications, concerning some hundreds of other country towns and their newspapers. There is more room for independence, and greater need of it, farther off, as in Bristol, where 'The Western Daily Press' led the way in 1858 and, under Peter Stewart Macliver, has been a vigorous exponent of Radical opinion as well as a prosperous journal, competing in the west of England with two formidable daily rivals, the Liberal 'Bristol Mercury' and the Conservative 'Bristol Times,' along with a crowd of weeklies and some other dailies, among them the Liberal 'Bath Herald.'

Birmingham, again, and more conspicuously, as 'the metropolis of the Midlands,' has become a busy centre of newspaper activity. Its 'Gazette,' after more than sixty years' life as a weekly, began in 1862 to be the daily organ of Conservatism for the squires and farmers in the district; and its 'Daily Post,' dating from 1857, is only the foremost of a great company of journals, daily and weekly, which has sustained and extended the political life of 'the black country' and its surroundings. Edited for some time by George Dawson, 'The Birmingham Daily Post' has both interpreted and educated the temper of this thriving and enterprising part of England during the past quarter of a century; shown alike in the boldness and thoroughness with which its municipal institutions have been contrived, and in the zeal with which it has applied itself to political reforms, under the direction of men like John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain.

The pioneers of provincial journalism in its most vigorous stage are to be found, however, farther north. Both 'The Manchester Guardian' and 'The Manchester Examiner' were of great influence before they were converted into daily papers in 1855. 'The Guardian' was an outcome of the agitation for popular rights

which had the Peterloo massacre for one of its incidents and, long edited by Jeremiah Garnett and with John Edward Taylor for its principal proprietor, it advanced with the times. 'The Examiner,' yet more Radical in later years, was an outcome of the anti-corn-law movement, and in it Alexander Ireland, Henry Dunckley, and others gave forcible utterance to the views of Cobden and Bright. The Lancashire Conservatives, at the same time, have their 'Manchester Courier,' and also their 'Liverpool Courier,' both altered from weekly to daily papers in 1863. The Liberal 'Liverpool Mercury,' edited by John Lovell, is older, and 'The Liverpool Daily Post' is yet older and more Liberal, having for its editor Edward Richard Russell. In Lancashire alone more than two dozen daily papers are now published, at least half of them, however, being halfpenny sheets, designed rather to provide their readers with afternoon news than with political guidance.

Yorkshire and the more northern counties, with their great manufacturing and mining populations, are as well supplied, the Liberals having their 'Leeds Mercury,' long edited by Thomas Wemyss Reid, their 'Newcastle Chronicle,' the property of Joseph Cowen, their 'Sheffield Independent,' their 'Bradford Observer,' and their 'York Herald,' with some others, and the Conservatives their 'Yorkshire Post,' and 'Sheffield Daily Telegraph,' and 'Newcastle Daily Journal.' In Scotland, too, though it has only twenty daily papers to compare with the hundred and fifty of England and Wales, national as well as local politics are worthily represented by the Liberal 'Scotsman,' 'Glasgow Herald,' 'Dundee Advertiser,' and, oldest of all, 'North British Mail,' and by the Conservative 'Edinburgh Courant' and 'Glasgow News.'

It is noteworthy that—with a few exceptions, the

chief being 'The Sheffield Daily Telegraph,' which owes much of its success to Sir William Leng, and 'The Manchester Courier'—the leading country papers are of varying shades of Liberalism, most of them, indeed, having been Radical at starting. They were commenced or developed from weekly originals, to encourage local demands for reforms of general importance, but for which special local needs arose; and their prosperity, otherwise unattainable, has been largely aided by the energy they have shown in dealing with strictly local concerns, and also in supplying their readers with ample information on all general affairs, apart from politics. Their greatest achievements consisted, for some time, in the establishment of branches in London, where their own representatives procured for them special reports of parliamentary proceedings and other matter in abundance, all of which, as a rule, was sent down by telegraph, so as to be ready for publication in the country towns quite as early as the similar reports prepared for the London papers could appear in them; but the success resulting from this enterprise soon led to bolder exploits. In war time and other emergencies some of the provincial journals have employed their own correspondents, and have received from them as full and authentic accounts of far-off occurrences as have been obtained by any but the most painstaking of the metropolitan journals. In such ways they have rivalled the older London dailies as general newspapers, and having reached that level, they have found it easy to outstrip their London rivals as leaders, for and in their own districts, of opinion on general as well as local affairs.

This later stage, in which many of the weekly country papers have shared to a large extent the functions of the dailies, was reached about the time of the

general election of 1874. The return of Conservative members for a great many constituencies that it was considered, even under the franchise then in force, should have been represented by Liberals, aroused widespread feelings of discontent which, leading to fresh political organisations, first in Birmingham, and then in various other parts of the country, led also and as a branch of the same movement to the quickening of political energy in, and by, the newspapers. Throughout the six years of the Beaconsfield administration all the Liberal journals that were not content to be mere local news-sheets were keen critics and zealous instructors ; and to them in large measure, and far more than to the London journals, must be attributed the astounding result of the general election of 1880 when Liberals of all shades combined in overthrowing the Tory government. That the combination was not a firm union, however, was apparent even before the victory was won ; and before the Gladstone administration had been formed there were signs of division among the Liberals, shown more plainly in the provincial than in the metropolitan newspapers.

All the great questions brought prominently before the public between 1880 and 1885—touching both the government's foreign policy, and especially its occupation of Egypt, its treatment of Arabi Pasha, and its reckless blunderings in the Soudan, and also its domestic policy, especially its despotic dealings with the Irish—provoked more outspoken and more various criticism from those country newspapers that were not pledged to abject subservience than from the Liberal London papers. There was almost a truce while the Parliamentary Franchise Bill and the Redistribution of Seats Bill were being discussed and passed, all sections of Liberals being anxious for the promised reforms, and

not many of them looking critically into the details of the measures or being desirous of any improvements upon the plans adopted by Gladstone and Chamberlain and their influential friends. Then, however, the truce ended. In anticipation of the general election of 1885 the Liberal country papers divided into clearly marked out factions, some adhering to the leadership of Gladstone, with Lord Hartington as his probable successor, and claiming to speak for the moderate Liberals, others siding with Chamberlain and the advocates of extensive reforms in England and of just dealings with the Irish. The lines of division continued afterwards without much change, although there was a considerable shuffling of leaders, and with no more deterioration of quality than is inevitable to the setting of sentiment before principle, and to such a new reading of the old adage, 'Measures, not men,' as assumes that men who promise pleasant measures may be trusted to keep their word.

The altered conditions under which the long standing Irish problem was presented to the consideration of the English people in the early part of 1886, alienated by far the larger part of the London press from the Liberalism that made loyalty to Gladstone the chief if not the only clause in its creed. On the other hand they greatly strengthened the Gladstonian following in the provincial press, and by this process Irish journalism, for the first time in our history, was brought into close association with English journalism, if not made actually a part of it.

Until 1880, or thereabouts, the popular, as distinguished from the official, journalism of Ireland was almost foreign in its character. 'The Irish Times,' which, according to its programme, has been, since it was established in 1859, 'a Protestant, Liberal-Conser-

vative, or, in other words, independent journal,' was by most people regarded in England as a sufficient exponent and champion of English rule in Ireland under successive viceroys and chief secretaries employed as ministers of the crown; and to Conservatives who were not satisfied with 'The Irish Times,' 'The Dublin Daily Express,' and such other papers as 'The Cork Constitution' and 'The Belfast Newsletter,' offered more consistent Toryism. In Ulster 'The Northern Whig' was always Liberal, according to the English use of the term; but there were not many other Liberal newspapers in Ireland. 'The Freeman's Journal,' with Edward Dwyer Gray as its editor, and, as the chief of the weekly papers, 'The Nation,' edited by T. D. Sullivan, with many others of less note but great influence, were till lately in such antagonism to the predominant feeling of all English parties about Ireland, that they were regarded as alien publications. In so far as they were read at all in England, they were read, even by Liberals, with horror and resentment, and, if recognised as in any way representative of national opinion in Ireland, they were regarded for that reason as all the more dangerous and reprehensible. Had they been differently read and regarded, and had they been taken at their real worth by English Liberals in former days, some of the political troubles of these later days might have been avoided.

In Ireland there were in 1866 only 15 daily and 183 weekly papers, some being class organs and local sheets of very limited circulation. The rest of the United Kingdom had, also including many publications of small account, 171 newspapers published every day, and 1,806 published once a week or oftener, 21 of the former and 435 of the latter being issued in London.[1]

[1] Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* for 1887.

CHAPTER XXV.

NOWADAYS.

1887.

THE conditions and methods of English journalism have varied immensely and continuously since 1621 when Nathaniel Butter produced his 'Weekly News,' but nearly all the more important changes wrought during the past eight generations have been permanent in spite of variation. The journalism of to-day is a development, or an aggregate of developments, and no new change that may happen is likely to be more than a modification of the arrangements now in force. These therefore are worth taking account of.

It is in the mechanical arrangements of newspapers that the steadiest progress has been made. Types and the processes of type-setting have not been much altered; paper and printers' ink are only different in quality from what they were in the middle ages; and even the modern system of printing is but an expansion of the system adopted centuries ago. This expansion, however, has been wonderful. A double sheet of 'The Times,' containing about a hundred times as much matter as a sheet of Butter's 'Weekly News,' can now be turned out in fewer hours, and a thousand copies of the new can be issued more quickly and with hardly more manual labour than a dozen of the old. Various ingenious devices, before and since the invention of the

steam engine, and especially the steam engine itself and its applications, have helped us to all this, and to other advantages both in the distribution of newspapers and in the collection as well as distribution of news to be given in them, while further help in many ways and of immense value has come from the electric telegraph and other extensions and teachings of science. The whole mechanism of newspapers has been vastly improved during the past two and a half centuries, and especially during the past half-century.

Hardly less remarkable has been the change in the position of newspaper producers—of the proprietors and capitalists chiefly, but also of the editors and writers. Butter was at once the John Walter and the John Thaddeus Delane of James I.'s days, but there was not much resemblance, save in their common humanity and in their connection with newspapers, between Butter and Walter, or even between Butter and Delane. In lieu of the shillings that Butter laboriously earned, at the risk of imprisonment by the Star Chamber, many of his successors amass thousands of pounds, and are great landowners and members of parliament; and in lieu of the few small pages of straggling news 'taken out of the High Dutch' that he offered to his readers at uncertain intervals, whenever he was allowed or able to publish a pamphlet, his other successors are now required each day, not only to tell their readers what is being done in every part of the world, but also to instruct them in every imaginable line of thought and action. It is not easy to conceive how newspapers can make much more progress than they have already made, either as business concerns or as guides of public opinion.

Newspapers, if they are meant to prosper and to be really useful to the public, are and must be business concerns almost before anything else. Proprietors,

editors, and writers alike may be philanthropists and enthusiasts, and, if they have not somewhat more than the average amount of philanthropy or enthusiasm, they are hardly likely to pursue any of these callings of their own accord, though they may be driven into them by force of circumstances. It is by no means rare, moreover, for philanthropy, genuine or spurious, strong political partisanship or zealous propagandism of some sort, to be the dominating motive for the taking up of newspaper business of one kind or another, and enthusiasm, healthy or unhealthy in its promptings and leanings, is often needed for the facing of difficulties that would deter men of more sober temperament. But these are the complements, if not the exceptions, of newspaper enterprise, which, if it is to fare well and be of lasting benefit, must be entered upon and carried through in the ordinary way of business. It may be thought, indeed, that in some newspaper enterprise of the present day there is too much, rather than too little, of the prosaic commercial spirit. The community suffers, though the individuals connected with it may gain, when a paper is 'worked' for money-making purposes alone, like a shop, or a factory, or a patent medicine. But this need not and does not very often happen. Journalists of all grades, from the penny-a-liner to the capitalist manager, claim to do their work, and do it best, in the spirit of a professional man rather than of a tradesman—of the preacher, the physician, or the soldier, who is only honest when he proves himself 'worthy of his hire.'

The absolute freedom of the press that has been gradually achieved has brought what may be some disadvantages along with its many advantages. In this age of cheap newspapers and of universal demand for them, a mild Libel Act and a few easy rules as regards

registration, meant to be of use in enforcing it, are nearly all that any one can regard as standing in the way of complete liberty, which may be license, in the publication of anything that producers can sell and buyers choose to consume. The results of this removal of restraints have amply confirmed the arguments of the reformers, of Burke, Erskine, and Fox in one age, of Mill, Cobden, and Bright in another. Sedition, blasphemy, scurrility, and immorality, if they have not been quite kept out of newspapers, have dwindled down and have lost all their force now that enlightened public opinion has substituted a new censorship for that of the old benighted tyranny. Such unwholesome journalism as once flourished in spite of arbitrary laws and vicious restraints has been rendered insignificant by the freedom that has enabled wholesome journalism to grow so plentifully as almost to cover the field. Unwholesome growths remain, however, and some unhealthy influences are apparent in nearly all newspapers. Stray murmurs are still heard against the liberty under which the journalism the murmurers object to is allowed to exist; and where, as in Ireland even now, their views are shared by the authorities, the attempts to enforce them have most cruel and mischievous effects. Louder complaint, moreover, is made by others who, without going so far as to call upon the legislature to suppress the journalism that is obnoxious to them, hold the journalists and the newspaper proprietors responsible for it. These complainers may be reminded that, with no more exceptions than serve to prove the rule, only such journalism is provided as there is a market for. If it is unpleasant to many that there should be survivals of the old Monmouth Street and Holywell Street literature, that the betting-ring and other adjuncts of 'sport' should have organs of their own in the press,

that loathsome police cases and law cases should be detailed by respectable newspapers for family reading, and so forth, these things are only as they are because so many newspaper readers require journalism of the obnoxious sort that the journalists are encouraged or compelled to satisfy the demand. All that can be fairly said against the newspapers in this respect is that, they being business concerns, and the competition among them being as keen as it is, their conductors are not self-sacrificing enough to withhold such information as the readers seek.

Not only have we now almost complete freedom of the press, but journalism is, as it always has been, one of the freest of all trades; and here also what may be disadvantages are mixed with the advantages. No apprenticeship is needed for entering it, and no preliminaries are required for participation in its highest rewards. As a matter of fact, indeed, those rewards are often assigned to men sufficiently qualified for them by native wit or training in other ways, without any previous newspaper drudgery, and therefore, inevitably, to the detriment of the drudges who, fully entitled to promotion, may have been vainly hoping for it through many years. A smart member of parliament, a successful barrister, a versatile clergyman, a retired schoolmaster, a popular novelist, or any one else with enough influence or intellect, or with a name likely to prove useful, may slip into an editorship or be made a principal leader writer in preference to men of long standing in the office, who perhaps have to teach him his duties and correct his blunders. These latter also suffer because, in most cases, the work they continue doing is of a kind that almost any one with aptitude for it can do. Such moderate skill in writing as every schoolboy should possess, with a knowledge of shorthand in some cases,

and a fair amount of general intelligence in all, enables a novice quickly to become a proficient in some of the largest departments of newspaper work, and the newly imported novices, by reason of the freshness they bring to the business, are sometimes more acceptable than the jaded proficients. This state of things may be inevitable, but it causes some harm to journalism as a whole, or much of it, as well as to many journalists. Unhappily for them, and perhaps also for the public, their calling is one that is more easily taken up than abandoned. It would not be more unfair to say, with Lord Beaconsfield, that 'critics are men who have failed in literature or in art,' than to say that journalists are men who are unfit for any other occupation; but the temperaments that incline them to journalism are apt to render other pursuits distasteful to them, and distaste or inaptitude is encouraged by the habits or the necessities incident to the pursuit they have chosen. One who by accident or of set purpose has become a journalist may before long see reason to regret his position, may soon discover that his chances of advancement in it are small, and may grow callous or desperate, but he seldom migrates to another line of life, and when he does he seldom succeeds in it. Hence, though the Fleet Street of to-day is in many ways an improvement on the Grub Street of the last century, the traditions and infirmities of Grub Street are not extinct.

These remarks apply rather to the rank and file of journalism than to its captains; but the rank and file, of course, constitute by much its larger part, and are—along with the proprietors and editors, the compositors, printers, and machinists—the chief producers of newspapers. Leader writing and original criticism of various sorts, though now the sole material of some papers, like 'The Saturday Review,' and indispensable to nearly all,

are but a modern branch of journalism, growing slowly in response to the demand that newspapers should contain much or, at any rate, something besides news. There are no clear lines of separation between news and criticism, each now of divers and diverse kinds, and the gradations between the lowest and highest stages of their producers are even more uncertain, seeing that so many journalists are at different times both reporters and commentators, and frequently are both at the same time; but it is important to an understanding of the present conditions and methods of journalism that they should be severally looked at.

The business of news-collecting has been considerably modified and vastly extended within the past generation or so. The functions of the penny-a-liner have been hardly lightened or simplified, but they have been much altered, by the establishment of such organisations as the Press Association, which collects and distributes English news for all the newspapers that care to avail themselves of its help, pretty much as Reuter's Agency has become the great importer and retailer of every sort of news from abroad. The system of co-operation or comprehensive service of newspapers carried out on a large scale by these organisations is imitated or borrowed from in numberless other instances within narrower limits. All the daily papers, and many of the weeklies, in and out of London, still have their own reporters, few or many, who collect information exclusively for their regular employers, and this is especially the case as regards reports of proceedings in parliament and at public meetings elsewhere; but even 'The Times' makes large use of outside help, and a great many papers depend almost entirely upon such help. The result is that, not only in London, but also in less degree throughout the country, there is a curious

subdivision of the labour of news collecting, by which each collector, confining himself to a small area, and perhaps only to certain varieties of news, is able to perform the task he takes upon himself much more thoroughly than he otherwise could, and to dispose of his information in several newspaper offices instead of in but one. London, for instance, is parcelled out into several districts, in each of which are as many news-collectors and local reporters as there is room for, who divide among themselves the different sorts of news to be reported. At every police court two or three—rivals or partners—are in constant attendance to take notes of all interesting cases brought forward, and the same men, being generally in intimate relations with the police, are in a position to give early information about street disturbances, robberies, murders, or whatever else may occur. Others look after coroners' inquests, and the like ; and in the same way provision is made for the prompt reporting of accidents, fires, and casualties of every kind, with as much trivial matter as can be found to eke out the more important when the supply of this is scanty. That a good deal of the matter is trivial few can doubt, but as it pleases many readers and does not often hurt any, there is fair excuse for its publication. The same methods being pursued in other parts as in London, modern newspaper readers are certainly enabled to know more of the general condition of society than did their fathers, and thereby many reforms of abuses may be promoted.

Penny-a-lining has done much, by bringing ugly things to light, to lead to their removal. It is their own fault if newspaper readers are not well aware of the vice, folly, and misery around them and needing correction, of the undeserved hardships endured by many of their neighbours, of the remediable evils exist-

ing everywhere, towards the remedying of which the first step is that their existence should be made known. The newspapers tell us much—and tell it more simply, and perhaps more truthfully—which used to be detailed only in such novels as Charles Dickens's and Charles Reade's, and they emphasise the teachings conveyed in such later novels as some of Walter Besant's. This is not quite a novelty in journalism, and it is often merely accidental to the purpose of the reporters, whose function is to state facts, not to preach sermons ; but it more than compensates for the worthlessness—and even for the mischievousness—of some of the news they detail.

That at times the news is very mischievous, however, must not be forgotten. Penny-a-liners are as apt as other people to be biassed in their opinions, and misinformed as to facts ; and they are tempted to write in accordance with the bias of their employers, or to supply the kind of information expected from them. Grave injury may be done by the publication of one-sided, garbled, or false news. Individuals have thus been grievously wronged, and whole classes cruelly prejudiced. Strikes and lock-outs in the mining and industrial districts, for instance, have been, if not actually brought about, at any rate encouraged and prolonged, by unfair and perhaps even malicious reports as to the causes or circumstances of disputes between employers and men ; and many abuses have been strengthened through the credence given to interested reporters. So it has been especially, recently and for a long time past, with Irish affairs. The jealousies of race, religion, and class have persistently shown themselves in ostensibly accurate descriptions of quarrels, outrages, and oppressions, for which there was little or no foundation, and have been lamentably fomented thereby. To the inventions and exaggerations on both sides which have appeared in

the columns both of English and of Irish newspapers are in part attributable the troubles in Ireland itself, and between its people and the English majority, which our statesmen have thus far failed to overcome.

Both the faults and the merits of the humbler system of news-reporting are enlarged in the more dignified arrangements that have grown up for providing newspapers with authoritative information either from foreign countries or on questions of special interest in our own kingdom. The 'own correspondents' and the 'special correspondents' are only exalted, more responsible, and more influential penny-a-liners, many of them being actually promoted from the ranks, and others being leader-writers and sometimes newspaper proprietors told off for the purpose. The penny-a-liner, it may be noted, now always receives, and generally well deserves, better payment for his work than is implied in the title, too convenient to be in any way offensive, by which he is commonly known. The correspondent holds an office of so much trust, requiring for its proper performance the highest faculties of a journalist, and entailing so much trouble and expense, that his is nearly the best paid of all the departments of newspaper work.

The employment of correspondents in Paris and other continental towns is an old and most useful institution. It acquaints English newspaper readers, few of whom have the means of access to any foreign journals, with the general state of political and other affairs abroad, and may be nearly the liveliest and most instructive reading offered to them. It affords great opportunity, however, for the perversion of public opinion. Most readers are at the mercy of their informants on such matters, and they may be sadly misled through the ignorance or partisanship of instructors who are not wilfully at fault.

They are in worse case when, as too frequently happens, their instructors deliberately aim at misleading them. The risks are lessened by the profusion of correspondence from different hands now appearing in the various papers. Though few readers can be expected to compare the diverse letters, say from Paris, to note their contradictions, and to piece together the several items of news furnished by one or other of the writers, but omitted by the rest, the knowledge that they can be thus checked and supplemented has a wholesome effect on most of the correspondents. In the ordinary course of events, moreover, no particular harm may be done by the conveyance of false impressions as to the character or policy of President Grévy, or Jules Ferry, or Clémenceau, the behaviour of Rochefort or Louise Michel, or the movements of the Bonapartist or Orleanist factions. The risks are greater, however, when international relations are strained; and newspaper correspondents, publishing vague rumours as facts, compromising statesmen by their innuendoes and forcing on events by their surmises or premature disclosures, may bring about complications that threaten to stop a truce or provoke a war. If some of the English journalists employed in St. Petersburg and Constantinople during and before the latest struggle between Russia and Turkey could have had their way, England would probably have been forced to take part in that struggle, and, since then, no credit is due to some of the English journalists in St. Petersburg and Calcutta, that the difficulties about settling the Afghan boundary were not developed into a *casus belli*. Those and like evils have been averted, in spite of partisan journalists; but some of their comrades, to give but one instance, must be held in large measure responsible for the prolonged turmoil and confusion of late years incident to English meddling

with Egypt, with Soudan campaigning among its ramifications.

On the other hand the Russo-Turkish war and the Egyptian difficulties furnish recent examples of the good work that newspaper correspondents can do in informing the public and influencing political action by the prompt and truthful revelation of facts that diplomatists would conceal if they could, and statesmen and generals would wink at. It was a correspondent of 'The Daily News' who opened the eyes of the public to the state of things in Bulgaria at the time of the insurrection in 1876, which guided English opinion, under Gladstone's leading, in opposition to Tory plans for involving our nation in the Ottoman designs against the Danubian races; and other correspondents assisted materially in securing for Arabi Pasha such protection as he had against the schemes of his enemies in 1882, and, after that, in exposing some of the blunders and shortcomings of the invaders of the Soudan. War correspondence has grown, in quantity rather than in quality, since William Howard Russell, by his excellent work during the Crimean campaign, made it fashionable and necessary, and its solid value has been lessened in proportion to its increase in pretentiousness; but it still yields ample evidence of the important national service that newspapers can do in ways that would not otherwise be trodden.

It is not all clear gain to the public that the newspapers now have so many able and zealous special correspondents in their employ. These writers are generally better qualified to describe the horrors of a battle field, the exciting incidents of an enemy's march through a hostile country, or other stirring adventures, than to discuss the humdrum affairs of domestic politics or to explore the nooks and crannies of our everyday

life. It may be chiefly in joke that they often complain, when idling about, perforce, in Fleet Street or Westminster, that there is no war for them to take part in; but the belligerent tastes they have acquired, their reasonable desire for congenial occupation, and other causes, inevitably incline them, just as military men, army contractors, stockjobbers, and others are inclined, to look approvingly on every chance of a new foreign quarrel, and, though their influence may not be great, it is, through their newspaper connections, often more effective than that of the military men and others, in quickening the germs of warfare and in keeping up disturbing controversies on frivolous questions which, to say the least, do not promote a healthy feeling throughout the country. In the absence of serious work, such as they can do best, moreover, other work for which they are less fitted has to be found for them on the newspapers. They are brilliant chroniclers of holiday manœuvres by our ships, soldiers, and volunteers, of jubilee celebrations in Westminster Abbey, and the like; but such appropriate themes are not often enough provided for them, and much of the 'special' writing that has of late years been plentiful in many of the daily papers, amusing and suggestive in its way, but an awkward mixture of description and narrative, in which the language is too strong, with criticism that is thin and weak, betrays the handiwork of men who have not turned their swords into ploughshares, and who are only trying to use spears as pruning hooks.

At the same time the miscellaneous articles, half news and half comment, and often with an allowable colouring of fiction to the facts set forth, with which nearly all the papers are now more or less freely supplied, are among their most serviceable as well as their most attractive contents. This hybrid between the

news-column and the leading article is of remote origin and steady growth. Defoe made excellent use of it, according to his humour, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and he has never been without successors and imitators. Dickens helped to give it new shape and value in his contributions to 'The Morning Chronicle' before he started 'The Daily News,' and the long series of articles contributed by Henry Mayhew and others, also to 'The Chronicle,' on 'Labour and the Poor,' were conspicuous examples of the good work that can be done in this line of journalism. James Caird's account of the agricultural condition of England in 1850, in 'The Times,' is another example.

'The Times,' with its ample space and ample resources, has always made large and welcome use of its opportunities in this way. From its files alone could be extracted solid and instructive matter enough on miscellaneous subjects to fill as many volumes as 'The Encyclopædia Britannica,' with which the collection, if it were made judiciously, and duly edited, would bear comparison as a work of permanent value. Sometimes, as many may think, it has misused its opportunities, and allowed partisanship to go grievously astray, as in its articles on 'Parnellism and Crime'; but its sternest critics must admit that on the whole it has done well in this sort of work. Other papers have generally essayed lighter handling of themes both light and serious; instance Sala's and Clark Russell's contributions to 'The Daily Telegraph,' and the contributions of many writers to 'The Standard,' 'The Daily News,' and other papers, some of the daintiest work of the kind being in 'The Gamekeeper at Home,' and other series of delightful sketches by Richard Jefferies in 'The Pall Mall Gazette' and elsewhere. A lower level is taken in this de-

partment of journalism when columns are occupied with thinly-veiled advertisements of enterprising tradesmen, ambitious adventurers, impudent charlatans, and others —called 'interviews'; but even these may be interesting and, to those who read them aright, not uninstructive. If, moreover, 'The Pall Mall,' which claims to surpass all other papers in this line of work, has misused its opportunities by issuing such distorted facts and prurient fancies as appeared in its 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon,' it may also claim to have helped in hastening or procuring the administration of justice by the sensational portrayal of such experiences as it detailed in 'The Langworthy Marriage.'

The intermediate ground between the mere reporting of news by one set of writers and the work of other writers in commenting thereon affords scope for several other varieties of journalism. Nearly all newspapers have their 'city articles,' and pay more or less attention to financial affairs and the progress of trade; and nearly all deal, trivially or carefully, with new books, new pictures, new plays, new inventions and discoveries, and, on occasion, with popular sports and pastimes. For each of these subjects, and for every other department of thought or action, grave pursuit or stray diversion, there are now special organs in the press. But it is only right that a general newspaper should tell its readers, to whom no other source of information may be open, if not something about everything, at any rate a little about so many things as are interesting to any considerable number of them; and in most of these respects, if not in all, great advance has been made with the growth of journalism. There are still some provincial and local papers whose editors have to be 'Jacks-of-all-trades,' leader writers, critics, reporters, and perhaps, on emergency, their own compositors, printers,

publishers, and errand-boys as well. But in the larger newspaper offices, both in London and in the country, a very different state of things now prevails. The editor is the chief of a large staff, and besides the regular writers in his employ, who are often debarred from writing for any other papers, he knows where to obtain as much outside help on any particular subject as he requires. It is possible therefore for nearly every conceivable subject to be dealt with as intelligently and capably in a journal like 'The Times' or 'The Standard' as in any of the organs specially devoted to particular subjects. Sometimes such subjects are better dealt with in the general than in the special newspapers, the risks from bias and prejudice being less, and the risks from ignorance not greater.

Those different risks are serious, however, in the case of nearly all papers. The hurry inevitable to newspaper work may render it necessary, if the required article has to be produced within a given time, for the subject to be assigned, not to the writer most fit to deal with it, but to the one nearest at hand; and even he may not be allowed time, before producing his article, in which to consult his dictionaries and his histories, and recall to his memory facts and views that he has really mastered but has forgotten. The article, accordingly, though it may not betray ignorance, cannot be profound, and, if apparently learned and wise, may be confusing and misleading. This is a serious drawback to the value of much newspaper work, especially the reviewing of books and the noticing of novelties in science or art.

Bias and prejudice are more dangerous. It is no easy matter for a newspaper writer to be always honest and impartial. If he writes on financial concerns and Stock Exchange operations, or on horseracing and other

'sports' connected with the betting-ring, he is liable to very coarse temptations, which he may indignantly resist or to which he may yield. If he is a 'first-nighter' at the theatres, the perils to which he is exposed are more insinuating. He may be anonymous to the public, but he cannot be anonymous to his neighbours and those about whom it is his business to write. He may eschew the society of actors and actresses, but he cannot avoid intercourse with their friends. It is inevitable that he should acquire likes and dislikes which, however zealously kept under restraint, must affect his criticisms. So it may have been even with Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt. So it certainly is nowadays; and hence we find that, constant and considerable as is the attention paid by newspapers to theatrical affairs, and great as is the power of newspaper critics in making or marring the success of new pieces at theatres, their criticisms rarely have any lasting authority. These remarks, however, are only incidental; and theatrical criticism is merely referred to as illustrating an infirmity that is more or less inseparable from nearly all newspaper work.

If grave fault is to be found with any of the modern developments of journalism or modern adaptations of its old forms, the heaviest blame must fall on one which, assuming to itself great dignity and sometimes having great influence, is perhaps harmless and only amusingly contemptible in its more excusable phases, but which is no more at best than an extension of the meanest and riskiest part of the penny-a-liner's craft. 'The first thing required of reporters,' said a too harsh critic of the English newspapers in an American journal, 'is that they shall supply at least as much news as the reporters of the other papers, the second that they shall su[illegible] as much more as possible; and a man who tak[illegible] himself to discriminate between facts and rumour[illegible]

to remain silent sooner than telegraph or write what he feels sure is a sensational falsehood, but which, for a day at least, if printed, would put his paper in request, is too apt to find his value decline and his prospects grow dim.'[1] That is true of only some, and it is less true of ordinary penny-a-liners than of the writers of 'London letters' and of the gossiping paragraphs in 'society journals,' and the columns modelled upon them in other papers; nor is it more than partially true of these. 'These prints,' said the same critic, concerning the 'society journals' and their imitators, 'live on personalities. Gossip, scandal, innuendo, and insinuation are their meat and drink. Their managers or proprietors have detectives hovering about the lobby of the House of Commons, flitting about the back stairs of houses where the great world congregate, attending popular churches, frequenting the easier kind of clubs, pushing their way into the private houses of the smartest among our public men. They pay their detectives for all the garbage of fashionable or domestic life that they can rake together.'[2] The allegation is too sweeping; but there is some warrant for it. The methods of 'The Morning Post' and of 'John Bull' in their earlier days, of 'The Age,' 'The Town,' and many similar publications before and since their date, unfortunately are not yet obsolete.

Obnoxious and reprehensible as is much of the tittle-tattle printed about noted or notorious members of 'society,' it generally injures only the individuals immediately concerned in it, and, though it may be no better than 'garbage raked together,' right-minded people suffer but little inconvenience, as they pass it by [illegible]o out of their way to avoid it; but the general

[1] *[illegible]ation* (New York), August 12, 1869. [2] *Ibid.*, July 5, 1877.

harm is greater when the tittle-tattle is about public men, and it may be as mischievous when it takes the form of fulsome praise as when it is prompted by malice. We have lately had plain evidence of the serious misleading of public opinion regarding influential politicians and important political movements, alike from adulation and from slander. The difficulties of the Irish question, which entered on a new stage in 1886, and the divisions among Liberals that were then apparent, can be traced to far deeper causes, but they have certainly been aggravated by the unseemly ways in which, sometimes with as little truth as courtesy, the names of Gladstone, Bright, Chamberlain, Hartington, and many more have been bandied about for the amusement and the profit of journalists 'hovering about the lobby of the House of Commons' and elsewhere. Yet such exploits are counted among the triumphs of journalism in these days, and not merely the humble frequenters of the lobby but also members of parliament who are newspaper editors and newspaper proprietors, not merely the lackeys and the ladies' maids whom Thackeray derided, but titled dames and scions of 'the nobility,' now make a trade of them.

The highest grade of newspaper work, short of editorship, is generally reckoned to be the writing of leading articles on political and other current topics. Defoe, who was the pioneer of so much else in modern journalism, initiated the system of leader writing in George I.'s days, his own political and social discourses, like those of Steele, Addison, Swift, and others, having previously been given in separate essay sheets, while the newspapers concerned themselves almost exclusively with news; and, though often afterwards separate essay-sheets like Wilkes's 'North Briton' appeared, and the best political writing, as by Junius in 'The Public

Advertiser,' was in the form of letters, not of leading articles, there have been plenty of famous and fame-worthy followers of Defoe during the past century and a half. Coleridge, Mackintosh, and their friends and opponents belonged to one period; Leigh Hunt and compeers as different as Canning and Cobbett, to another; Albany Fonblanque, Rintoul, Sterling, and many more, to a third; and the list of eminent writers in our own generation could hardly be compressed into a page. That much of the work now done is inferior in quality to the best that has been done in former times is not surprising. The average of our own day will bear comparison with the average of any earlier day, and, if the quality should content us, the quantity, when account is taken of all the newspapers published throughout the kingdom, must satisfy the most inordinate requirements.

This abundance of leader writing, incidental to the abundance of newspapers, seems to betoken a lowering of its value, which need not imply any lessening of its intrinsic worth. Notwithstanding all the improvements that have been made in newspapers in recent years, and, with a few intervals, ever since their commencement, a very noteworthy change, which ought not to be regarded as a deterioration, and may be a necessary concomitant of the improvements, appears to be now taking place in this respect. Our earliest newspapers offered their readers nothing but news, though of course the news soon began to be selected or written in accordance with the editors' bias. This selection and preference continued long after the editors undertook to instruct their readers, in separate articles, as to the views they should hold on the questions of the day prominently dealt with in their news-columns. Now, however, though nearly all papers give more or less

preference, in their reporting of news, to the subjects or the lines of policy they favour, it is necessary for them to be comparatively impartial in their news reports, as, if they fail to supply such general information as their readers want, the readers will go elsewhere for it. Facts may be garbled, but they cannot be suppressed, and all readers who care to have opinions on the questions of the day are able to form them for themselves, while those who are not independent or intelligent enough to form their own opinions have other sources of inspiration—their immediate friends, influential members of their clubs, or their party leaders. Newspapers are read now chiefly for their general news, or the information on special subjects that are discussed in them. The leading articles, if read at all, are as seldom read for instruction as sermons in church are listened to, if listened to at all, for profit. When these articles coincide with the readers' opinions, they are approved. When the readers disagree with them, they resent them. In neither case have they so much weight as similar articles, written in the same papers and with no more ability, had only a few years ago.

The intelligence, as well as the wilfulness, of newspaper readers has weakened the authority of newspaper writers. The readers, or a great many of them, are now much more on a level with the writers than they used to be, and this approach to equality opens the way to some arrogance on the one side and some servility on the other. The 'thundering' style of Sterling and others, in 'The Times,' is not yet out-of-date, and we can see amusing instances of it every day in one or other of the hundreds of papers that are published, but even the readers who enjoy this style are amused, not awed by it; and this, even more than other styles, when it is employed, is intended rather for the entertainment than

for the instruction of the public. And other styles are too often adopted with the same inferior purpose. Though he may please himself with the thought that he is, or seems to be, guiding public opinion, the leader writer cannot but be aware that he is generally doing little more than following it. More than that, too, and worse—though, in this respect, matters are much the same as they have been at all previous stages in newspaper history—the leader writer is sometimes not even free to give expression to views that he honestly shares with the majority of his readers. He may have 'to write to order,' to hold a brief, like a barrister, for the party with which his paper is allied, or for the employer who may have reasons of his own for enforcing particular opinions on questions about which he also, like his subordinate, is not too much bound by party ties for independence to be prudent. Experience shows that, under such conditions, very brilliant articles may be produced; but there is of necessity more flash than fire in them, and by the better-informed readers this is well understood.

If, however, the leading article, as an exponent and director of public thought, especially on those questions which happen to be of paramount interest at the time of writing, has lost, or is losing, some of its importance, ample scope is left for the doing of effective work by leader writers; and such work is, on the whole, well done by them. Though newspaper readers, using or abusing the larger opportunities for political thought and action which newspapers have greatly helped in procuring for them, may refuse to be either as much coerced or as much convinced as their fathers were, and may consider themselves qualified to guide rather than to be guided by the newspapers, there is plenty for them to learn and much that they may be taught. The

popular mind appears rarely able to apprehend more than one great subject at a time, if it is able to apprehend that; and public opinion sways in currents that are too strong—there being always, of course, two contending currents of public opinion on the same subjects—for newspapers to do much towards checking them. So it was during the time of the Russo-Turkish war, and again during the time of Egyptian campaigning, and so it has been since on the question of Irish Home Rule. Political writers can do little to stem these currents directly, and many of them are sorely tempted to follow the lead of platform demagogues and win temporary applause by humouring the whims and pandering to the prejudices of their readers; but they can do much, if they are wise and honest, and they often really do it, by offering criticisms on side issues, by recalling forgotten truths, and by enforcing neglected arguments, which may serve, if but slowly and partially, to enlighten the public mind, even on matters about which the public mind professes itself too resolute to be enlightened. More than that, though there is generally but one important question to the front, there are always, in a nation so hampered as ours is with unsolved problems at home and growing responsibilities abroad, some scores of important questions in the rear. The shrewd and intelligent political writer will keep these, or such of them as he is able to deal with, in view; and he can render immense service, for which his readers will be duly grateful, by calling attention to them on suitable occasions, and thus sowing seed which, even if it falls on dry ground at first, may bear fruit hereafter.

The grim humourist who wrote 'Sartor Resartus more than half a century ago declared that 'the Journalists are now the true Kings and Clergy: henceforth

Historians, unless they are fools, must write not of Bourbon Dynasties, and Tudors and Hapsburgs, but of the Broad-sheet Dynasties, and quite new successive Names, according as this or the other Able Editor, or Combination of Able Editors, gains the world's ear.' And in another chapter he varied his metaphor. 'Hast thou not still Preaching enough? A Preaching Friar settles himself in every village, and builds a pulpit, which he calls Newspaper. Therefrom he preaches what most momentous doctrine is in him, for man's salvation; and dost not thou listen, and believe? Look well, thou seest everywhere a new Clergy of the Mendicant Orders, some bare-footed, some almost bare-backed, fashion itself into shape, and teach and preach, zealously enough, for copper alms and the love of God. These break in pieces the ancient idols; and, though themselves too often reprobate, as idol-breakers are wont to be, mark out the sites of new Churches.'

That fanciful description, only to some extent true at any time, is less true to-day than it was when Carlyle spoke: but there was meaning in his mockery. Newspapers are now thrones and pulpits, and journalism assumes to itself the right and power to control and reform the world; and not without some reason. During these past eight generations it has made mighty progress in England, yielding benefit, in spite of blunders and faults, misdoings and mischances, alike to those who have served in its ranks and to those they have served.

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[*Extract from Preface by the late Lord Dundonald.*]

'At the beginning of last year I placed all the necessary documents in the hands of my friend, Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne, asking him to handle them with the same zeal of research and impartiality of judgment which he has shown in his already published works. I have also furnished him with my own reminiscences of so much of my father's life as was personally known to me, and he has availed himself of all the help that could be obtained from other sources of information, both private and public.'

'The present Lord Dundonald has done wisely in securing the aid of Mr. Fox Bourne's practised pen in this memoir of his father's life. Mr. Bourne has brought with him to his present task the same powers of graphic description and clear elucidation of his subject which are so pleasantly familiar to the readers of his former works. It is always delightful, in taking up a book bearing his name upon the title-page, to feel sure that we shall encounter neither spasmodic attempts at strong writing nor pretentious efforts at word-painting, but an earnest, straightforward narrative, intelligibly written in good plain English.'

GUARDIAN, August 11, 1869.

VI.

THE ROMANCE OF TRADE. One volume, crown 8vo. 1871.

VII.

THE LIFE OF JOHN LOCKE. Two volumes, 8vo. 1876.

'A new life of one of the greatest of English philosophers was much needed, and Mr. Fox Bourne has shown himself to be quite equal to the emergency. We do not know how Locke and his works could be more ably and effectively brought to the consideration of an age that does not keep philosophers much in mind than in the two volumes (comprising nearly a thousand pages) now before us. . . . . Fresh materials for an account of the great philosopher's life and works have been collected. In the matter of correspondence alone, Mr. Fox Bourne has been enabled to add upwards of two hundred letters, some of which are of great interest. . . . The course of his life, the history of his mind, the chronicle of his actions, the narration of his theories, and his practice—all is clearly told in unconfused succession by Mr. Fox Bourne, who holds all the threads of the story without entangling them, and who, loving his hero, does not wrong him by a blind idolatry.' NOTES AND QUERIES, May 6, 1876.

'To revive the memory of such a man is obviously an undertaking of much moment, and Mr. Fox Bourne has felt the responsibility of his task. He spares no pains; his "Life of Locke" evinces much editorial care, and contains novel information. . . . Whilst reading Mr. Fox Bourne's memoir, we feel that we are in the presence of a man who was intelligent throughout every pulse of his existence, affectionate and tender, bright and playful in thought, true not only to the cause of truth, but to all he loved and to himself. . . . Nor is it till those years are passed that Mr. Fox Bourne is enabled to bring to light that new aspect of Locke which is the chief merit of his book; to present Locke as the ardent scientific investigator, the writer of verses of society, the Commissioner of the Board of Trade, and, above all, as the loving and much loved friend. . . . It is not, however, for the new idea we gain of Locke during his stay in Holland, or in the office of the Board of Trade, that we are so much indebted to Mr. Fox Bourne as for his description of Locke during his declining years.'

ATHENÆUM, May 13, 1876.

'It certainly seems remarkable that we should have had to wait so long for a complete biography of Locke; but, as it is, there is perhaps little reason to regret the delay. One important part, at least, of the materials has lately become more accessible than it ever was before; and it is satisfactory to find that a task so long neglected, or but partially touched, has at last been taken up by good and careful hands. Mr. Fox Bourne has put much honest work of his own into the fulfilment of his task, and, of course, has now and then to call special attention to the results of his own inquiries; but he never forgets that the first duty of a biographer is to put his subject before himself. The result is a book which is clear and interesting to read, and will be of permanent value to the students of Locke's work and times.' SATURDAY REVIEW, May 27, 1876.

'Mr. Fox Bourne is able to state most justly in his preface that more than half of the contents of this work is derived from hitherto unused manuscripts

and that by them, apart from their independent worth, altogether new light is thrown on most of the information that is not actually new.'

ACADEMY, May 27, 1876.

'It was left to the author of the present volumes to collect from different sources all the writings of Locke that have never yet been given to the world, and to weave them into a clear and consistent narrative. And it will be admitted by all who go carefully through the book that he has done his work remarkably well. Mr. Fox Bourne has spared no pains to obtain every scrap of writing left by Locke, and to extract from it whatever fresh impression it conveys either as to his character or intellectual development. Everywhere the biographer keeps himself in the background.' GLOBE, June 8, 1876.

'It is not creditable to English philosophy that the biography of John Locke, who, in a more real sense than Bacon, was its founder, has so long remained unwritten. We owe it to the interest that has of late extended in regard to all that concerns psychological inquiry that this stigma has been at last removed, and that we are able to welcome a biography which, if it does not in all respects realise the ideal of the philosophical student, supplies us with so much information about the man, and gives such full illustrations of his character, that we are brought into living contact with him, and recognise him in his "habit as he lived." . . . Mr. Fox Bourne has striven, and striven successfully, to give us the lifelike presentation of the man and Englishman by tracing his relations through the varied stages of a long and not uneventful career. He has shown us how, in the view of Locke himself, his philosophical work was a minor consideration, as in its origin his immortal treatise on the "Human Understanding" was almost accidental. We are made to see the philosopher in the discharge of his important work as an educational reformer, and the apostle of toleration, connecting himself with all the varied interests of a stormy but fruitful period of English history. . . . Without falling into the opposite error of making the Life of Locke a general history of his time, his biographer has interwoven the private and public events of the period skilfully together, so that we see Locke, not as an abstract philosopher, but as the child of his age, who was, to a large degree, the outcome of a period which, nevertheless, he powerfully helped to mould. . . . He has given us a work which supplies an unmistakable want in the literature of English philosophy, and which will make the thoroughly English pictures of the philosopher familiar to the present generation. . . . We cordially welcome what in all respects is an excellent piece of biography, and we have little doubt that it will become a standard work in English literature.'

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July 1876.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 October, 2018